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The Christian Statesman

THE WORLD CONSCIENCE

By W. M. Forrest

Professor of Biblical Literature,
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CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY

THE NINETEENTH AMENDMENT

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The National Reform Association

Organized in 1863

It is Christian in its constituency and in its purpose. It is not denominational. Its work is for all the nations of the earth.

It seeks to proclaim the Gospel in the civil sphere as the church proclaims the Gospel in the ecclesiastical sphere.

It believes and teaches that the institutions of this world must be converted to Jesus Christ, just as individuals must be converted to Him if they would be saved.

It believes that a nation is a moral being; that civil government is divinely ordained; that all such authority is held under Christ, the King, and is responsible to Him.

It has an Executive Committee of 52 men. It has vice-presidents in nearly all the states.

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Vol. LIV.

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No. 10

Cheer Up, Fellow-Citizens

If you are a Republican don't fall into a spasm of terror merely because there may be a faint prospect of Cox's election to the presidency; and don't believe more than half the campaign lies you hear against your opponents.

Cheer up, Brother! You or your father felt the same way in 1892, and yet Cleveland gave a great administration.

And if you are a Democrat, don't order your sackcloth and ashes even if you are all but sure of Harding's election; and don't accept as gospel truth very much of the scandal about the other side.

Cheer up, Brother! You or your father thought in 1908 that Taft would sell the country to Wall Street, and yet he nobly served the nation.

And if you are an Independent, don't go around predicting utter and irretrievable ruin for our country and the world; and don't believe all you read of sin and shame concerning both of the old parties.

Cheer up, Brother! You and your father have seen the old parties win the elections for three score years; and never once has a bad man come to the presidency of the United States.

The lies accomplish nothing, for or against. They will be dead and buried next November.

And neither Harding nor Cox will try to wreck the country. Either one will be patriotic and devoted.

As far as mere human skill and purpose can serve, this country will be safe.

So cheer up!

Once every four years (and sometimes in between) many of us seem to go raving mad with political animosities; breaking old friendships, lying awake nights in cold dread of the other party's wickedness, stopping our favorite journal because it is not as crazy as we are, and acting as if election day would be the Last Judgment Day.

But let the rest of us be as sane as our dispositions will permit in the midst of this political welter.

Cheer up, Citizen!

If you can't get enough comfort and composure out of your human calculations, if you are afraid the voters may make an awful mistake, go into a season of humble and intense prayer.

Then cheer up, and trust in God!

This is His nation and He will guard His own.

THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN

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October

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NOTES

If there were no spoils of office, we should have fewer spoiled politicians.

You are weak and discouraged. Lift your hands and your heart to God. You are strong and brave. It is easy.

Straddling a barbed wire fence ought to be a luxury to a presidential candidate after this campaign.

If the "no tenants with children" landlords had their way, there would be no tenants—with or without—in just one generation.

Jabez says: This is tough. I have to choose between Smoot's man and Murphy's man—or else take Debs.

This country is D. R. Y. And all the moonshiners will be in jail or somewhere warmer, before they can even make it damp.

Suppose we were to divide everything equally. In ten seconds inequality would re-appear. For misfortune and profligacy, industry and thrift, would continue.

Jabez says: Sending a child to Sunday shows and public dance halls, and then wondering why he goes to the devil, is my idea of a dislocated mental operation.

If some of the Irish in America would work as hard to free this country from graft as they work to free Ireland from England, we might have clean city governments.

Our descendants must pay the war debt. But how shall they do it, if every man, woman and child must have an automobile—and gasoline always going up?

We have known many a man to get a million dollars of comfort out of a dollar, and many a man to get a billion dollars of misery out of a million. It's all in the way you spend it.

If the man who wants plentiful whisky really thinks Prohibition is an utter failure, why is he howling so? If he truly believed what he says, he would keep still, and let the devil's work go on.

The mountain labored, but did not even bring forth a mouse; only a gnat. The opponents of the League of Nations now propose the same thing to be called the Association of Nations. And millions of lives have been paid to change one word.

THE NEW CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY

The labor union has been a great factor in making amelioration of unjust conditions—of extravagantly long hours, and of inadequate compensation for toil. And one who has always commended the general purpose of the labor union approaches the present situation in the United States with great reluctance. But it must be considered, if one is to be well advised in his own mind and outspoken in his utterance concerning the status which we have reached.

Broadly speaking we have passed the point of equilibrium. It is always the experience of humanity that it must slay the tyrant which slew the tyrant.

The labor union has become in many cases, (not in all), the agency of purpose entirely foreign to the original motive which brought it into being and justified its activity. It has largely freed itself only to begin another kind of enslavement.

One who was an advocate of labor unions, forty years ago, can say with truth that the object of the union then not only was to secure good pay and reasonable hours for toil, but to secure the highest grade of service from the individual worker. Today the same observer must candidly admit that in many instances the latter part of the object has vanished; and the labor union is seeking to compel the payment to the inefficient of the highest wage that goes to the efficient man, and at the same time to limit the production of the man of highest efficiency to the quantity which is produced by the least efficient man.

No system can or ought to endure which has in it this basic element of

wrong. It will ruin labor, while it is working ruin for the rest of the world.

To take away all reward from the efficient individual, to make a dead level of mediocrity in the ranks of labor, would be to breed in the next generation, if it were possible to continue such a system in operation for so long a time, a race of automatons. In point of fact it could not be continued, because within the very ranks of labor would appear the leaders who would insist upon larger rewards than their fellows out of the common accumulation which labor unions would amass. Indeed, we see some of this now. The captivating agitator, while calling himself a labor man, lives in the luxury which he condemned and still condemns in the capitalistic class. He lives off the earnings of others. And he is multiplying in number and in power. He points to his success, in winning a larger wage and a shorter day and a lower production per man in his union, as the reasons why he should be paid a larger and larger tribute. And to the extent that he is more assured and magnetic than his fellows, he receives the increase. These are the new "Captains of Industry." And they are becoming swollen in their pride, with each success of the injustice which they are perpetrating upon the general public and with each new autocracy which they enforce upon the laborers whom they lead.

It is a sorry exchange that labor of today is making. It degrades itself into inefficiency. It is seeking to limit production and to enhance the bulk payment of wages at the same time. It is accepting the rule of a tyranny which has all of the self-sufficiency of the old

capitalistic rule, without any of the sense of responsibilities. The arrogant capitalist of a generation ago would not wilfully destroy the business or the stock in trade to gratify a whim, since he had a substantial investment; while the agitator tyrant of today is quite willing to see a business wrecked and a mass of laborers out of employment for an indefinite time, so long as he can thereby maintain a selfish and brutal leadership, since he has no investment to jeopardize and no sense of responsibility to the public weal.

We want to see labor dignified; but the only way this can be attained is for labor to dignify itself by a service to mankind. The whole trend of our

civilization is toward a proper payment for such service and the establishment of such conditions as to make the life of the laborer a reasonably easy and certainly a wholesome and healthful life. More has been done within the past twenty-five years to that end by capital itself than had ever been done before by capital in the history of the world. To stop that strong trend and to avert its otherwise assured beneficent results; to make a horde of petty agitators into a class of Captains of Industry, supplanting the intelligent and responsible captains of the present and the past, is to work a fatal disaster to labor itself as well as cruel wrong toward the whole mass of humanity.

A DECLARATION TO REMEMBER

In preparation for the Third World's Christian Citizenship Conference there was held at Pittsburgh, June 23 to 28, 1918, a Preliminary Assembly, under the direction of the National Reform Association.

One of the particular works of that Assembly was the issuance of a declaration of principles for Christian civic world reconstruction. This important document was prepared by a committee selected by the Association in advance of the Assembly. The report of the committee was unanimously adopted and has been extensively circulated in the more than two years which have followed. Its declarations have been frequently quoted and generally commended.

That document now, when the world is in an agonized turmoil, seems like prophecy.

We quote a few sentences from its

"The costly civilizations built by man are being demolished. There is a crash of human institutions, laws, customs and social orders.

"The political forms and social systems have no power to save themselves from their rivaling ambitions.

"Reconstruction in these domains following the world war will be false and temporary, if founded upon the material expedencies and the mere human cohesions of the past.

"The law of Jesus Christ must be the foundation. His precepts must bind the superstructure. Otherwise the reconstructed world will fall again in desolation.

"A preparation of spirit now is essential that there may be such assured reconstruction when the war shall end; and that, as we build anew our institutions, they may be built to Jesus Christ, appointed by God the Father Almighty to the rulership of the world.

"No nation ever fell while it was right with God.

This is the day for choosing by the nations: To get right with God and live; or to stumble on through more centuries of failure.

* * * * *

"There is only one safety for the nations. It is Righteousness.

"The world, as we knew it before 1914, will be no more.

"It must be better, or it will be worse."

It is easy to see why the nations are stumbling and crashing. The cause is the same as that which brought on the great war. National sin is responsible for the whole appalling catastrophe. Peace did not come to the world with the defeat of Germany. Peace cannot come until there shall be a substitution of righteousness for the rivaling ambitions of nations and classes and until this world shall bow in recognition of our Lord Jesus, the divine Ruler. Thrones have fallen, empires have been obliterated, political geography has been reformed and shattered again, since that time in June, 1918, when the Assembly of Christian leaders made their declaration of principles to the world. But humanity is no nearer now, than it was then, to a foundation of safety. Not one nation of the earth has sought in this time of reconstruction to establish itself upon the Rock, Jesus Christ. The disaster of continued conflict grows more alarming month by month; and yet the nations will not turn to their assured safety. How much more suffering must they endure before they will acknowledge and live the truth!

We know that God will bring it right in time. And there is no pessimism in the sorrowful contemplation of facts, gory and gloomy as they may be; because His word cannot fail and He will work out the redemption. But in the meantime the incalculable suffering of whole races of people goes on, because nations—which remembered God for a day in their dire extremity—seemed to turn away from Him again as soon as there was a promise of peace and reconstruction.

We are concerned particularly with our own nation, the United States. So far as any indication comes from governmental action, and so far as the political leaders give any sign, all the

supplication and the contrition exhibited in our time of peril are now abandoned as if we had passed to assured and enduring safety. Not in the time of the war itself, nor at any other time in our history, has this country been in such danger as it is today. While our two million boys were across the sea, we were all patriotic and all prayerful and all humble. Now that they are returned, most of them; now that we call the war over, and won with proud victory to our arms; now that we do not have to stint ourselves under enforced food rations and similar regulations; we seem to think that we do not need God's help to guide the country. There is another day of reckoning coming unless there shall be a radical change from the present tone of indifference and self-satisfaction and class jealousy and riotous extravagance and political bumptiousness; for these are the petty prides that go before a fall.

We recommend to the thousands of readers who received a copy of the declaration of principles from which we have briefly quoted above, that they read anew that document; read it attentively and prayerfully; and after reading it, send it with a personal letter, or present it, to some high official of state or national government, whose attention you have a right to demand.

Perhaps, as some people believe, we did not suffer enough during the war to be made truly humble. If we will not be contrite now, and construct upon a foundation of righteousness and submission to the will of our Lord, we may share in the indescribable miseries which are still upon some of the nations of Europe.

"I enjoy reading the Statesman and am glad to renew my subscription."—
S. B. Houston, Columbus, Iowa.

Outlook

Doctor Wm. A. Woodfin, writing in the Presbyterian Advance for August 26, 1920, gives a statement which is a reiteration of the verbal admission made by evangelical ministers in Salt Lake City, last November.

**Dying
But Not
Yet Dead**

He concludes a careful and conservative article on Mormon polygamy, in practice and teaching, with these words: "Polygamy is not dead, but it is dying."

Yes; and it is dying just as slavery was dying in 1846; just as the whisky business way dying in 1916; and just as Kaiserism was dying in 1917.

Dying, because all Christian civilization is fighting against it, without compromise.

There is a boy, Sherman Goodfriend, two years old, living at Cleveland, Ohio, who is expected to get "a fine education" out of a whisky barrel. His uncle, Adolph Goodfriend, died recently leaving a stock of liquor in trust to provide for the boy's education.

**Getting
Education
Out Of A
Barrel**

We are told in the press dispatches that the federal authorities have permitted the whisky to be sold for "strictly medicinal purposes." It nets \$30,000 and this amount is placed with the trustees in lieu of the whisky.

Probably the parties concerned felt that the money would be in less danger from robbers than the liquor; so their prudence, merely as such, is to be commended. But what a comedy is enacted every time a big stock of liquor is turned from the warehouses

into "medicinal" circulation! It gets right where whisky used to get—into the business of satisfying and then raising anew a demoniac appetite. The assumption that an educational purpose for little Sherman Goodfriend somehow sanctifies this offensive transaction, only makes it the more reprehensible. And when Sherman Goodfriend comes to maturity, if he is to humanity what his name says, he will not be proud that he got his education out of a barrel of condemned booze.

It is agreeable to read of our American athletes abroad winning a name for themselves and for their country;

but it is disappointing to

**American
Example
Abroad** note also in the daily press that one of these meets, at Colombes, France, was held on the Lord's Day, and

that Leland Harrison, secretary of the American embassy in Paris, who represented Ambassador Wallace, and most of the American colony in the capital, were present. While such an event, in all the particulars here mentioned, may be entirely devoid of novelty, it nevertheless is highly regrettable that the fact is published widely over our land that certain Americans, including a prominent official, care little or nothing for the Sabbath or for their country's reputation in connection with the day.

Do these American gentlemen abroad desire the American Sabbath to give place to the Continental Sunday? For much as we fail in the proper observance of the day here in America, there is yet a marked differ-

ence between its observance here and on the continent of Europe. Does our government wish the Parisian public to understand through the action of our officials that we are indifferent to athletic meets being held on the Lord's day? The example of a public official has a far-reaching influence, and is peculiarly effective in a foreign country; and notwithstanding our inconsistency in Sabbath observance here at home, we have a perfect right to urge upon our officials abroad that they give due consideration in their public actions to the strong Christian sentiment that pervades our country, and to the honored place which the Christian Sabbath has always held in our country's history. What America is she owes in no inconsiderable degree to the Lord's Day; and freedom-loving, brilliant France would have more enlightenment and stability, if the day were rightly observed in that country.

Tia Juana is a Mexican town near the California border. The board of temperance and public morals of the Methodist Church has been

Red Tape? conducting a crusade against this place because of its immorality. It is described as a city of vice, booze, and gambling, run by Americans and supported by Americans. Everything goes, we are told, at Tia Juana; gambling devices, dance halls, hop joints, bull fights, prize fights, robberies, and indescribable obscenities. According to the opinion of the board this could be stopped in two weeks by a change of policy on the part of our state department. The board has appealed to Mr. Colby, the secretary of state, and apparently has asked that passports to visit this town shall not be granted. Mr. Colby, however, has seen fit to make the ruling

that it is not the business of our government to act as a censor for morals or to refuse permission to American citizens to visit this town.

It is, of course, a difficult situation for our government to reach. The question is one of jurisdiction as well as of morals; and it is hard to judge where information may not be complete. But the question arises, why would it be out of place to refuse some or all passports to those known to be going to such a notoriously wicked place? We detained persons at home during the war for less reason. Also might we not take cognizance if a state of war were near our boundary? If pestilence were raging near at hand, if the Bubonic plague were as near to us in Mexico as Tia Juana, would we keep quiet? It looks as though official determination could find some avenue for the exertion of pressure, at least of a moral kind, on this disturbing situation. Perhaps our secretary of state will yet take steps that will aid in the removal of this moral cesspool which is defiling not only Mexico but also our own country.

It would be a singular person who would have no pity for Mr. Terence MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, who is a prisoner of the English government in Brixton jail, London, and who is apparently dying of hunger strike.

The Hunger Strike The immediate question is not whether Mr. MacSwiney is justly imprisoned or not; but it is, Who is responsible for his present physical condition, and who will be responsible, if he dies? Nobody is depriving the prisoner of food. No doubt sufficient and excellent food is placed at his disposal. But the prisoner refuses to eat. His aim is to compel the government to release him, or to bear the

opprobrium of his death. Will the government be responsible for his death, if he persists in his refusal to eat? Not in the slightest degree! The responsibility will rest upon the Lord Mayor himself, and upon all of his friends who may have abetted the course he is pursuing. His misery is self-inflicted, as far as hunger is concerned. If he dies, he dies by his own hand. He is a suicide.

It is quite significant in this connection that Father Bernard Vaughan has made a recent statement to the Press Association on this subject, in which he says that, personally, from his reading of theology, moral and dogmatic, he would not feel entitled to administer the rights of the church to any one, no matter what his nationality, who was deliberately dying through a hunger strike, but that he is free to admit that there are other theologians who differ from him in this position.

Appeal has been made by an organization on this side of the water to Mr. Colby, our Secretary of State, to take some action in this matter of the Lord Mayor, and the assertion has been made that the Secretary has promised to endeavor to do something and to do it quickly. That is, Mr. Colby may be expected to ask another government to release a man whom it regards as a law-breaker, because the law-breaker insists on taking his own life, if not released. Would it not be better if Mr. Colby appealed to the Lord Mayor to be reasonable and not commit suicide? But it is an affair that does not concern Mr. Colby, the United States Secretary of State.

For a government to release every prisoner who threatens to commit suicide would be for the government to commit suicide itself. It would open every prison door. It would set every criminal free. It would be the end of

civil government. There is nothing admirable about a hunger strike. Whatever any prisoner may feel as to the justice of the charges against him, let him make his appeal for liberty and vindication in some other manner than a childish refusal to eat. That is no way to meet an issue. It is an appeal that no self-respecting government can afford to grant. It is a threat that no government ought to fear. It is high time to laugh such methods out of court.

One of the prominent business men of our country some time ago expressed himself as follows concerning the character of the man who

**Qualifications
For Public
Office**

should occupy the position of chief magistrate in our country: "There must be selected one who is able, wise and well-informed, of unquestioned honesty, morally and intellectually, eminently fair and impartial, frank and sincere, broad-minded, deeply sympathetic, courageous, sturdy, and well balanced; and above everything else, loyal to the Constitution and the laws of the land."

This statement contains many of the qualifications necessary in official positions: ability, knowledge, honesty, impartiality, courage, and loyalty; and naturally suggests the qualifications for office in general. There is however one element of official character that is not distinctly included here, and that is the fear of God. Long ago the divinely approved injunction for civil officers was to provide out of all the people "able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating unjust gain." That man, whether he is President or road supervisor, lacks an essential qualification if he does not fear God. His oath of office means little to him.

Many Christians would make poor officials, but a man who is a Christian will, other things being equal, make all the better official. Our federal constitution is wrong in providing that "no religious test" shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States. In harmony with this provision the constitution provides no appeal to God whatever in the presidential oath. No sectarian test should ever be allowed for official position, but a religious test, at least in the sense that a man should fear God and lead a moral life, should be required of every official. Civil government is not man's creation, but is God's moral ordinance, and the man who denies the existence of God and the authority of his law, or leads an immoral life, has no right to hold civil office.

A striking article, both in breadth of vision and diction, by Mr. W. A. G. Gardiner, appears in a recent number of the *New Republic*. It is entitled "Down Town," and treats of New York and America. To one approaching from Europe through the New York Harbor the massive buildings of the city are, to the mind of the writer, like a distant range of mountains, solid and enduring, but as the day darkens and lights appear, the impression changes to a spectacle, airy and dreamlike, of towering proportions but infinitely fragile structure.

Carrying out the mountain figure, the writer speaks of the Grand Canon where Broadway ends; and of the great God Mammon, who reigns at the threshold of the giant, who is downtown New York with all its financial power. "For this is the very keep of his castle. Here is the throne from

which he rules the world. This little street running out of the Grand Canon is Wall Street, and that low, modest building, looking curiously demure in the midst of these monstrous bastions, is the House of Morgan, the high priest of Big Money. A whisper from his street and distant worlds are shaken. Europe, beggared by the war, stands, cap in hand, on the kerbstone of Wall Street, with its francs and its marks and its sovereigns wilting away before the sun of the mighty dollar."

Mr. Gardiner finds in the great Woolworth building something typical of America. "Slender and beautifully proportioned, it rises in great leaps to a pinnacle nearly twice as high as the cross of St. Paul's Cathedral. It is the temple of St. Woolworth. Into this masterpiece he poured the wealth acquired in his sixpenny bazars, and there it stands, the most significant building in America and the first turret to catch the noose of light that the dawn flings daily over the Atlantic from the East." And from the pinnacle he observes two toy buildings with tiny spires, St. Paul's and Trinity, once prominent topographically, but now swallowed up and lost at the base of the terrific structures that loom above them. "Perhaps you will be tempted to see in this inverted world an inverted civilization." "And you will wonder whether in this astonishing spectacle below you, in which the temples of the ancient worship crouch at the porch of these Leviathan temples of commerce, there is the unconscious expression of another philosophy of life in which St. Woolworth and not St. Paul points the way to the stars."

As one stands on this giddy pinnacle, and summons mental vision to his aid, in order to reach the far horizons of America, the mind is charged with enormous questionings; and they

will be intensified, after days of westward journey, and penetrated by a sense of power unlike anything else the world has to offer, the power of immeasurable resources, of inexhaustible national wealth, of a dynamic energy that numbs the mind. "In the presence of this tumultuous life, with its crudeness and freshness and violence, one looks back to Europe as to something avuncular and elderly, a mellowed figure of the late afternoon, a little tired and more than a little disillusioned and battered by the journey. For him the light has left the morning hills, but here it still clothes those hills with hope and spurs on to adventure. That strong man who meets you on the brink of Manhattan Rock and tosses his towers to the skies is no idle boaster. He has, in his own phrase, 'the goods.' He holds the world in fee. What he intends to do with his power is not very clear even to himself. He started out, under the inspiration of a great prophet, to rescue Europe and the world from the tyranny of militarism, but the infamies of European statesmanship and the squalid animosities of his own household have combined to chill the chivalrous purpose."

Finally we see the writer turning homeward, threading his way eastward through the populous waters of the noble harbor, on the afternoon of a crisp and brilliant winter day, and looking back with a great note of interrogation concerning America and its future taking shape in his mind. "Is that Cathedral of St. Woolworth the authentic expression of the soul of America, or has this mighty power you are leaving another gospel for mankind? And as the light fades and battlements and pinnacle merge into the encompassing dark there sounds in the mind the echoes of an immortal voice

—'Let us here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.' And with that resounding echoing in the mind you bid farewell to America, confident that, whatever its failures, the great spirit of Lincoln will outlive and outsoar the pinnacle of St. Woolworth."

It is well that this English seer in such earnest and searching words has thrown America upon the screen and given us a new vision of our character, our place, and our tremendous responsibility to God and to the human race. It will be well for us if we heed a warning so gracefully and forcefully expressed. Our nation has been born and developed in the providence of God for a great and noble mission. Will we hear the voice of destiny? Will we enter the open door? We are in danger of being swallowed up by pride and mammon. Shall we tread the debris-lined pathway of the nations of the past, or shall we arouse from our slumber, accept our divine commission, come into full harmony with our rightful King, and hold steadily aloft the torch of Christian light and liberty which alone can enlighten all the nations of the earth?

"The Christian Statesman is certainly a welcome guest in our home."
—Mrs. W. F. Whitcomb, Harrisburg, Pa.

"Give till it hurts." And then keep on giving till it feels better.

Writing to the Christian Statesman:
"I thank God for the great benefit it has been in my home."—Mrs. Morris, Providence, R. I.

Editorials

NOTES

God giveth us speech that we may supplicate and praise Him.

We spend nine billions for luxuries every year, so the department of justice discovers. But does it mean Russian sable cloaks or cotton B. V. D.'s?

Let us be consistent, Brother Workman. If you want two dollars an hour for your time, don't kick at high prices. You are the first cause.

Jabez says: When I am praying from my head, I am asking God to help my candidate. And when I pray from my heart, I ask God to let His man win.

If the farmer's boy must come to the city to be the merchant prince or the banker or the lawyer, the city must find a way to send its boy to the farm. 'We have lost the proper proportions.

In buying a factory site, the company must now take in ample parking space for the motor cars of its workmen. "And why not?" growls a colleague at the next desk. Nothing, except that this same colleague also growls at the high prices of manufactured goods. Let us all be logical. If we insist that the workman must ride to a six hours a day job in his own motor car, we ought to pay the price without grumbling. The costs of that car and its upkeep are added to normal prices, and the dear public foots the bill.

MARRIAGE VS. A HOME

One of the most fertile causes of divorce today is the haste with which marriage is consummated and the absence of any proper understanding of what it means. The motive all too often prompting marriage stultifies the impulses that make for a true home, and subverts the conditions which later would make a home normal.

The home is the cradle of the race. Here we find in embryo acknowledgment of constituted authority, a proper regard for those weaker and undeveloped, a recognition of varied temperaments and the value of team work, together with a sympathy that binds all souls together in a common cause. As goes the home, so goes the nation and the race. It is to be questioned whether many, contemplating marriage, take stock of the values, relations and issues involved, or keep to the fore the thought of cradling conditions that will foster better things for the nation and humanity.

The supreme duty of parents is to teach their children that marriage means the founding of a home with thought for the developing claims of the years. It is the duty of the church to extend under suitable conditions the privilege of divine sanction. It is the duty of the nation in her schools to instruct her youth in the noblest of all arts—the art of **home-making**. Keep these things in mind when you read in our next issue the authentic array of facts under the leading article, "The Divorce Crime."

One Dollar! One Dollar! Are you all done?—\$2.00 Oct. 1.

ARE WE QUITTERS?

Is it any wonder that the people of the entente allies think of the United States as a quitter?

With a patience far greater than we could have shown under the same circumstances, they waited and waited for our entrance into the great war—waited when it seemed that they couldn't wait any longer; waited while we corresponded in terms of diplomatic eloquence with the Hun; waited while ships went down; waited while they themselves were being bled white; waited with hope and with respect until such time as the United States in very shame had to enlist to do its big part. And their gratitude and their devotion in return is not paralleled by anything in the history of the human race. Late as was our mergence into the war, we were accorded equal leadership; and practically we dictated the terms of peace and the agreement for a league among the nations to forever prevent recurrence of this wholesale assassination at the will of a madman.

And after receiving with their grateful love the accord of this leadership, we forsake it.

The most moving pleas which have ever been addressed by one nation to another, came from our Allies in beseeching that we would ratify the treaty of peace and the covenant for the League of Nations. We stepped back from our commanding position, to engage in months of wearisome squabbling while the world perished! And now some of the nations who were with us are obliged to make their own preparations to isolate themselves and to arm themselves to the full extent of their power, to withstand prospective assault in the near future. Notably is this the case with Great Britain. Only a few months ago

Premier Lloyd George in a public statement declared that it was not yet too late for the United States to lead the world to peace; and without the United States as the leader there was danger of chaos in the councils. His foreboding is realized. Great Britain seems to be withdrawing herself from the insoluble complexities of the world's case. She is seeking to arm herself on land and sea to protect her own shores and her colonies, and her world commerce, against any combination which may be made in continental Europe against her.

The former grateful and devoted peoples of the suffering countries, including Great Britain, attribute the new menace to the world's peace in large measure to the fact that the United States refused to go on with its appointed leadership. They call us quitters. It is not pleasant to contemplate what unprejudiced history will say of us.

A WAR OF CLASS-SHIP

The old partisanship was bad. Many of us thought it was unspeakably bad—that the final limit of political evil was reached under that system. But the new class-ship is worse. And this greater evil—class-ship—seems to be the force which in political affairs is supplanting partisanship.

With many others we had hoped that as party ties grew weaker with the voters, the demands and the authorities of public right and private conscience would take their place. But for the moment this seems a vain hope.

There was something in the history of the party and something in its responsibility which helped to save us from final degradation under its rule—to preserve us from internecine conflict fatal to the institutions of the Republic.

But under the rule of class-ship, it is exactly that deadly chasm which will be created. The institution of free and equal government cannot survive in its purity, if each class is to assume that government is to be operated in its favor and to the disadvantage of every other class. We saw something of this for a brief time under the domination of the departments of government by the great financial interests; and we are seeing even a more dangerous aspect of it in the attempt by labor to dictate the functions of local, state and national administrations. We need look no further for a proof of this than the declarations of the so-called Third Party. Its candidate for the presidency and its spokesmen generally assume that the time has come to overturn the principles upon which this republic is founded, in order to create the equivalent of a Bolshevik government, which shall rule out of power and practically out of existence the successful men and the intellectuals to make room for the rule of the toiler. As we have often pointed out, in this country the toiler has his equal right to rule and he does so rule by orderly process when he wills to utilize his franchise and his opportunity; but it is that kind of rule which he finds too tedious and too toilsome.

If we are to array the farmers of one state against all the other people of the state, we are to make class war. If we are to array the union men of one state against the other people of that state, we are to make class war. And all history demonstrates that there can be no survival of free and equal institutions, when the division upon political lines settles into the arbitrary one of class interest as opposed to general interest.

The pages of this magazine have

demonstrated during the years a deep sympathy with the toiler and a resolute determination that he should not be oppressed by unjust laws nor artificial burdens created by insensate capitalistic purpose. But, equally, The Christian Statesman is determined to raise its voice in protest against the utterance of those men and publications that are inciting the proletariat of the United States in an attempt to Russianize this country.

Partisanship was bad, but it is very much safer at its worst than class-ship. The rule of capitalism was bad, but it could be readily overthrown by the greater mass of the people who suffered under any of its injustices. The rule of ignorance, conscious only of the wrongs of the past and utterly unable to appreciate the opportunity of the present and deaf to the call of progress in the future, would be the worst rule of all; and it is that kind of class-ship which should be opposed by every intelligent and patriotic citizen in the republic. The fight is on, no matter how willing we may be to blind our sensibilities to the fact.

A NATIONAL DISEASE

It is that of easy divorce. It has thrust itself widely and viciously into our legislation. It has actually become embedded in our laws. It is, both in spirit and effect, completely revolutionary and destructive. It is breaking up thousands upon thousands of homes. It is snapping the most sacred and God-ordained ties as if they were naught but withes of tow. Through this wide-open door of easy divorce, the inestimable blessings of home and marriage are rapidly taking their flight and in their stead are coming a brood of yelping passions, and

God's terrific words, "I will curse your blessings," are having an ever-widening fulfillment.

Want of space forbids detailed enumeration. Suffice it to say that we have in our country fifty-two different sets of divorce laws specifying as many as twenty-five different reasons, against God's one, for breaking up homes. And so loosely are these laws interpreted and administered that we have on record forty-two different grounds for divorce. In the great majority of the States these grounds range in number from six to ten.

With such laws for a basis of action, and with a vicious system of divorce brokerage, and the loose procedure and swift celerity of process in many of our courts, is it any wonder we have come to a wild license in the matter of divorce? In six counties of the several States of the Union there are more divorces granted annually than there are marriages performed. In forty-eight counties there is more than one divorce for every three marriages. In Chicago there is one divorce for every eight; in Denver one for every four; in Reno one for every two, which is a rate six times higher than ever cursed Japan in her worst days of heathen darkness.

Until recently we have been wont to say that, Japan excepted, we have been granting more divorces in proportion to our population than any other country in the world. But since the publication of the last official report of our government on this subject, a few months ago, we can no longer make even that exception. That report, which gives us statistics as late as the year 1916, shows that while Japan divorces at the rate of 109 to every 100,000 of her population, the United States divorces (let us say it with

shamefacedness) at the rate or 136 to every 100,000 of her population. The country over, we are breaking up homes in the divorce courts, chiefly for unscriptural reasons, at the rate of one for every seven formed at the marriage altar.

Nor is this all. It is not simply the high rate of divorce in proportion to our population; nor is it the rapid increase in the output of our divorce mill, so well known to all students of the situation; it is rather the increase in the rate of divorces over and above the increase in population **that is really alarming**. In 1885 there were 23,472 divorces granted out of a population of approximately 50,000,000; while in 1916, thirty-one years later, out of a population of not over 105,000,000, there were 114,000 divorces granted. In other words, while the population of the country increased 110% the divorces increased over 485%—more than four times as fast. It is a simple arithmetical problem that any man can work out for himself as to how long any nation can possibly continue to **exist**, much less **prosper**, that is breaking up its homes more than four times as fast as its population is increasing. America cannot long stand that. No nation on the face of God's earth can long stand that.

The life of a nation does not flow down from the halls where its laws are enacted, nor from the temples where its judgments are executed, nor from the desks where its executive business is transacted. The life of a nation flows up from its firesides.

The power of a nation does not lie in its wealth, its territorial boundaries, or its international influences. The power of a nation is in its manhood and womanhood. And for these we must depend upon its homes.

The home is woven and interwoven in the very tapestry of history. It has nurtured the national ideals. It has fanned the fires of patriotism. It has perpetuated the altars of faith. With its decay, with the ruthless sundering of its ties, with the disintegration of reverence towards it, there must inevitably come racial and national decay. And precisely that is what confronts America at this hour, with her unscriptural divorce system.

A voice out of heaven is heard saying, "They have sowed the wind; they shall reap the whirlwind." "The nation or kingdom that will not serve God shall perish." A nation's laws are the expression of its convictions and life. The King of nations put his hand solemnly on the institution of marriage and said, "What God has joined together let no man put asunder." Our divorce laws are in direct, open, flagrant contravention of the divine law. We have virtually said to the Lord of nations that he knows not how to regulate the family. There is but one conclusion: We must change these laws or God will suffer us to perish of this our national disease of easy and ungodly divorce.

TWO DIPLOMATS IN TRAINING

European diplomats, educated and trained in the art of using words to conceal purpose, have had much joy in sneering at the "shirt-sleeve diplomacy" of our American statesmen. Particularly they have held an attitude of lofty contempt toward most of our presidential dealings with international issues.

We admit that, in the years gone by, there may have been some crudities, largely due to the virtue of direct thinking and speaking—although, after

all, this is sometimes the deepest and most deceiving of diplomacies because of its unexpectedness. But we contend that no one can assume that the man, who shall be elected to the presidency this year, will be lacking in the strategies of saying one thing and meaning two things or saying two things and meaning nothing.

This training of Mr. Harding and Mr. Cox is brief, but it is intensive. The one who shall come to the White House will be fully prepared to meet the wiliest of European diplomats and to out-juggle them with dazzling evasions.

SELF-SLAUGHTERING MARTYRS

Martyrdom by attempted suicide started in hysterics and seems to have become the popular method of appeal to immature intelligence and decadent sentiment.

Women who had violated the law or the parliamentary regulations in Great Britain, in their fight for the franchise, were put in prison by legal process. They went on a hunger strike. For a little time the stolid British government did not know how to deal with this peculiar manifestation; but eventually it solved the problem in part by forcible feeding, under the direction of physicians.

Later, some of our I. W. W.'s in Boston tried the same thing, thinking they would martyr themselves for the cause, and their starvation would arouse millions to a Red warfare against established institutions. But the Boston police, taking their lesson from England, fed the I. W. W.'s through the nose a couple of times; and after that double experience, the most hardened of them was willing to do his own eating.

Recently we saw the spectacle, which was ridiculous despite its tragedies and its assumed sanctities, of the Lord Mayor of Cork starving himself in a British prison and receiving the last sacrament from a priest of his faith. That is the only word to use for it, and the priest was ministering to a man who was deliberately trying to commit self-murder. The whole extraordinary and offensive proceeding would have been as absurd as anything on the comic opera stage, except for the fact that millions of violent and ill-informed and prejudiced people were determined to take it seriously in order to make a case of murder against the imperial government of Great Britain. The "Court of the Sinn Fein" met to pass judgment of death against the people who were to be held responsible. Even Lloyd George was to be indicted as a murderer and he was to be executed as the assassin of a man who was determined to starve himself to death.

A caustic observer has said that the whole world has gone crazy. This is too broad a statement. But, certainly, it is insane in spots. And one of the maddest of the mad spots in the world is the so-called Irish Republic. The thing itself is imaginary; and in that imaginary domain, lunacy is rampant. And of all its wild vagaries probably the most exaggerated to this date is this attempted martyrdom by suicide, with the charge of murder against the officials who could not prevent a man from refusing the food that was placed before him.

"I am very much impressed with the Christian Statesman's unflinching stand for Truth."—Mrs. Sarah Parr, Laurel, Ore.

THE NINETEENTH AMENDMENT

The nineteenth amendment to the national constitution has been ratified by thirty-six states and the Secretary of State has issued a proclamation declaring that it is now a part of our fundamental law. After a long, strenuous and bitter controversy women have won the right to vote. This achievement furnishes the occasion for discussing certain points involved in practical politics.

State and National Government

The relation of our state governments to the national government has always been a matter of controversy. The doctrine of the complete and absolute sovereignty of the states has been maintained in opposition to the doctrine that supreme authority is centralized in the general government. It seems that certain controversialists have usually maintained the theory which they **desired** to be true, without much regard to the facts as embodied in the national constitution.

The civil war was supposed to have settled the question whether the United States is itself a sovereign state or only a confederacy of sovereign states. But certain advocates of the second of these theories continue to maintain that state law can override and annul United States law. It ought to be regarded as a self-evident fact that a provision of the general government regulating affairs of national concern cannot be modified in any way by state governments. The national constitution itself prescribes the two methods for amending that instrument and the Congress, in submitting an amendment for ratification by the states, declares which of the two is to be followed; that is, whether the ratification shall be by

state legislatures or by conventions held for that purpose.

No state has the right to ratify in any other than the prescribed way. Each state in proceeding to ratify acts as an integral part of the United States and not as an independent, sovereign state. For a state therefore to provide for a referendum to the people is rather absurd. It is also absurd for a state to embody in its constitution a provision declaring that a legislature cannot act on an amendment to the national constitution unless it has been elected after the submission of the amendment by Congress. And yet such provisions are found in some state constitutions. This point is dwelt upon because it is vital and fundamental.

The United States is a real nation clothed with authority by Almighty God. That authority is delegated by God, first to the people as a whole, and then by the people to the national government. In our dual system that delegation is made through the machinery of our state governments in the manner prescribed by the national government, as has been shown above. When three-fourths of the states ratify an amendment to the national constitution it is a part of the fundamental law, and is just as binding upon states that fail to ratify as it is upon those that do ratify. And yet there are many misguided politicians who teach a heretical system that would subvert these fundamental facts.

The principles here insisted on have a direct bearing upon the nation's obligation to acknowledge the Divine Ruler from whom all authority comes and who should be honored by his creatures, whether they be individuals or nations.

While the nineteenth amendment was under discussion in some of our

state legislatures it developed that many members of those bodies have a very erroneous conception of their duties and of the significance of their acts. Naturally the interest taken in the matter was nation-wide. We were all interested in and concerned about the action of every one of our state legislatures. The fate of the amendment might be decided by each one of our forty-eight states. In voting on the resolution to ratify the amendment these state legislatures were acting for the whole nation, not merely for the individual states. Naturally, therefore, the friends of the amendment everywhere sought to bring influences to bear that would lead each legislature to ratify, which they had a perfect right to do. And yet the opponents of the amendment poured out the vials of their wrath upon its friends who went from one state to another seeking to win friends for their cause.

When will members of legislative bodies learn that they are sworn to act for the whole state or nation, as the case may be, and not merely for that small body of voters by whom they are elected? It is amazing to note the tricks to which some men will resort to prevent a vote on a measure to which they are opposed and have not votes enough to defeat. When twenty or more members of the Legislature of Tennessee left the state to prevent the meeting of a quorum they were guilty of an act that is almost criminal. When that body met to act on the resolution to ratify there was but one thing to do, and that was to ratify or refuse to ratify.

But what should be our attitude on the nineteenth amendment itself? Is it in harmony with the principles of sound political science to grant to women the right to vote? This journal has always maintained the affirma-

tive. There are three lines of argument that lead to this conclusion.

Representative Democracy

The first is that which emphasizes the fact that ours is a representative democracy. We are not a monarchy nor an oligarchy but a democracy, which means that supreme political authority is vested in the people. Since it is impossible for all the people to come together to make laws and perform other acts of government, representatives are chosen by the people meeting in groups. Certain limitations however must be prescribed because some are not qualified to vote. Children cannot vote intelligently. The ignorant and the criminal classes cannot be trusted with the ballot. Anarchists and disloyal persons are not worthy of this privilege. To deny the ballot to women is to deny that they belong to the body of people who are fit to exercise the functions involved. Representative democracy requires that all who are qualified shall have the right to a voice in choosing their own representatives.

Constitutional Argument

The second is the constitutional line of argument. Our fundamental law begins with the words, "We the people . . . do ordain, etc." Either women are not people and have no right to a voice in government, or they are people and have this right. Of course no one will take the first position. Being people and having the rights of people, it seems to follow that these rights should be maintained just as the rights of other people are maintained.

The right to vote however is not a natural but a political right. That is, it is exercised in the political sphere and is regulated by law. The only

ground on which votes can possibly be denied to women is the fact that the family is the unit in national life, and since the husband is the head and representative of the family he may properly cast the ballot for the household. This theory of household suffrage however would disfranchise all unmarried men. It is not required by the fact that the family is the unit in national life, and it is forbidden by the fact that the individual is the unit of population. It is the people viewed as an organized whole, not as an aggregate of families, to whom God has delegated political authority.

The Biblical Argument

The third is the Biblical line of argument. Human beings, male and female, bear the image of God. For this cause they can be clothed with authority from God. Immediately after the creation of men, we are told that God made them male and female and gave them dominion. The Biblical record makes it plain that the exclusive exercise of dominion by the male part of the race is the result of sin. It follows that the work of redemption in destroying sin destroys also its effects. Christianity therefore, when its full effects are realized, will Christianize political life and remove distinctions of both sex and race.

Moral Value

Doubtless all who are concerned about our national welfare are speculating about the moral value of the Nineteenth Amendment. Will it help or will it hinder the cause of moral reform in the political and national realm? The ballot is popularly regarded as the most potent of all weapons for achieving desired ends in the civil realm. Certain facts however must not be overlooked. The women

have been a very efficient agency in securing the prohibition of the liquor traffic. But they did their work chiefly without the ballot. They were the chief agency in securing the adoption of the nineteenth amendment, and they did their work chiefly without the ballot. Of course it will be said that votes were necessary by those who had the right to vote in both these cases, and that they will be necessary to secure all other legal and constitutional reforms. But this only serves to make clear the distinction between the mere act of voting for or against a reform measure and the training of voters to vote righteously. Since the men, who heretofore have largely claimed for themselves the exclusive right to vote, never carried through a moral reform until urged thereto by moral forces that occupied positions higher than any promulgated by political parties, we are deeply concerned about the effect upon our women when or if they become merged in existing political parties. Either there must be a political party more Christian than any that has yet arisen or the result will be disastrous. Merely to double the number of ballots on the old party platform basis will not save the nation from ruin.

Jabez says: If I could pick what I want from Harding and Cox and Debs and Christenson I might get half a Roosevelt or Wilson.

The edition of the Christian Statesman for April is exhausted. We regret that it is impossible to fill orders for that issue.

One noble thought each day added to the treasures of the mind will make any man rich.

Divorces were more than doubled in the first sixteen years of this century. Texas multiplied her divorces by 94 in the last 50 years. Oklahoma from 1890 to 1916 multiplied her divorces by 90. How about your state? Examine the four tables in the November issue.

We have just listed a subscription for India, Asia That's making a dollar go a long way! There are thousands of citizens and office-seekers just as far away from the right solution of our national questions. The Dollar you send us to get The Christian Statesman to one of these will go a long way.

Have you read the list of names under "Honorable Mention?" Perhaps you have had your good intentions. Don't let them be used for paving purposes. Eleventh hour result getting is better than nothing.

What is the "plain duty" of the clergy and the bench toward the divorce question? Read what Bishop Hughes and others say as printed in the November issue.

The biggest question before the Christian citizen today is the Christianizing of political thought. How can it be done without **The Christian Statesman**? And how shall the people of the land know unless some one go to them with the offer of The Christian Statesman for \$1.00 if sent by October 1? **Will you go?**

What responsibility does Protestantism share for the divorce evil? What is her duty if she is to sponsor true Americanism? We are presenting bold facts in our next issue.

THE WORLD CONSCIENCE

By W. M. FORREST

Professor of Biblical Literature, University of Virginia

The existence of a world conscience is denied by many. They are unquestionably right if we claim there is a highly developed moral sense among all the people of the earth, or that there is anything like a uniform moral judgment that is allowed sway in all the varied relations and activities of the human race. But in the sense of a moral nature capable of being developed to a point of effective activity in all individual and national dealings, there is a potential world conscience.

As respects individual conscience there are certain views that are untenable. Conscience is no special moral organ of the soul. It is not a locked box containing a moral monitor unreachable by the individual because God retains the key. It is not a sense of oughtness. It is not, in any commonly understood meaning, the voice of God in the soul constantly crying, "Do the right! Do the right!" Such a sense, or organ, or voice shut off in a water-tight compartment of a man would be of little value because unrelated to the man as a whole. There would be no way for it to enforce its mandate. To be told constantly to do the right could yield no practical results unless the inner voice also declared, in every case, what is the right.

Conscience is the moral judgment, formed by process of reasoning concerning ethical matters. Living according to conscience is rational living for individuals and nations. No particular

part or sense, but the whole man determines what is right, and unless he elects to introduce anarchy into his little world, to throw his cosmos into chaos, he must then act in accord with his judgment. A troubled conscience is a soul whose harmony has been broken. An individual not morally responsible is either a child not old enough to form sound judgments, or an adult temporarily or permanently bereft of reason. A society or nation to be excused from conscientious action would have to be in the control either of children or lunatics—dominated by irrational beings.

The capacity of normal human beings to judge what is right is universal. It is the crowning element of man's likeness to God. No race or nation of men has even been found incapable of deciding between right and wrong. With good and evil set before them they judge respecting the choice of the good, "I can, and therefore I must." A man may be a bigoted, persecuting, murderous Saul of Tarsus "living in all good conscience." A woman may be of the *devi-dassi* of a Hindu temple devoted to a life of public prostitution to the glory of the great god Shiva. But the moment either is convinced such a course is wrong it must be forsaken, or the soul will fall into moral anarchy. Thus God has not left himself without witness anywhere. So the "law written on the heart" is universal. Man is so made

and so environed in his world that his whole being urges to conformity to the highest morality. The hope of individual and international reform is grounded upon that fact. True rationality alone insures peace of mind and the highest good. To doubt that is to cast such imputation of untrustworthiness upon our reason as to render worthless all faith in anything else whatsoever. Potentially, at least, there is a world conscience.

Nevertheless the failure of conscience to function in many of the most important relations of life is a source of world-wide woe. It is not so much a matter of conscientiously doing some great wrong through ignorance. Nor is it the plunge into moral anarchy which overtakes the souls that deliberately choose the wrong so persistently as to short circuit and burn out conscience. Rather is it the case of classes and nations of men of average individual goodness who in their group relations seem to find some by-pass around conscience that enables them to keep their self-respect while working the deadliest harm to other groups of men. Such harm arises through no desire to wrong others, but rather from the quest of personal or group good regardless of others. If the desired end could be reached by conferring upon others the same good sought for self—by creating for others wealth that could by no possibility be added to one's own wealth—that would by preference be the course followed. But that is left to itself, or to the other man or class seeking its good as we seek ours. Hence the common absence of conscience in the world-old treatment of labor by capital, and in the modern treatment of capital by organized labor. Barring such times as overthrow reason by unleashing pas-

sion, the conflicting parties know their mutual dependence, and would be glad to let both have all the money and honor if each suffered no absolute or relative loss thereby. The case of the merchant and the public is of like sort. The seller is seeking his own enrichment and all the good that means for his family and other interests. He is not trying to impoverish the customer, and will rejoice in any degree of prosperity the buyer may retain that is not inconsistent with his own gains.

Politics, like business, presents a field where conscience is likely to be left out. The politician is commonly in politics for selfish reasons, but the good citizen is out of politics for like reasons. One has interests he can best serve by being in. He is not bent upon the injury of his town or country. Where no personal end he seeks conflicts with the good of the state he may work efficiently to its advantage. But in practice his personal ends are attainable only as he gains the co-operation of other politicians and then he has to help them get what they want, so the time seldom arises when he is free to serve his country. However, he is not less devoted to the public good, or more selfish in the pursuit of his private ends than the average citizen—the good citizen whose business and pleasure leave public office to less substantial and capable men. One is in office for what he can get out of it; the other is out of office for gains not to be had in it. Even spasms of reform that turn the rascals out, and put some good man in, soon spend their force and leave the good man unsupported. Having set him in the forefront of the hottest battle and retired to leave him to fight alone, there is little wonder that he is

soon beaten into ineffectiveness or captured by the political gang. Conscience cannot be expected to curb the predatory politician when it does so little to prod the good citizen into self-denying service for the public good.

The clash of international interests also finds men of more than average personal morality practicing utterly conscienceless methods, both in peace and in war. The ends of patriotism are sought without regard to results to other nations. Whether it be the right of might in war or the right of cunning in diplomacy affects the ethics of the matter little or nothing. Europe was not much more immoral in the savage clash of arms than it had been for many years in the clash of wits that finally brought on the war. Until unscrupulous diplomacy yields to the fair give-and-take of arbitration and international co-operation for the good of all, the world must remain like a troubled mind whose harmony has been destroyed by irrationality. Unconscionable chancelleries inevitably deliver nations to the horrible ravages of military might.

The over-riding of conscience by race prejudice, or the casting aside of ordinary ethical considerations in the presence of peoples of alien color or religion affords another illustration of the failure of the moral sense to function consistently. Think of Turkish atrocities against the Armenians. Yet we should be wrong in assuming every Turk is a barbarian or a brute. Except when dealing with an age-long enemy, an adherent of a hated religion, the Turk will average very well. Even the hero nation, Belgium, but a few years ago was furthering its alleged rights in Africa by most horrible oppression and mutilation of the Congo black. The armies of the western na-

tions in the suppression of the Boxer uprising differed from one another and from the Hun contingents with them in degree rather than in kind of conduct towards the Chinese. Great England neither in its past nor its present dealings with India has been above reproach for its official and personal course. And lest America appear to assume a "holier than thou" attitude, let us with shame confess to grave wrongs inflicted upon the Red Man and the Negro in past and present. The spirit of all these acts is that voiced by Kipling's Tommy crying out to be taken somewhere east of Suez where there aren't no Ten Commandments. None of it arises necessarily from races or individuals without conscience, but from people whose conscience can be laid aside like their clothing or left out of the reckoning except as respects "me and my wife, my son John and his wife, us four and no more."

These considerations lead to a practical problem. Without the existence of a moral sense in all races of men, to attempt to solve the problem would be sheer waste of time. But granted the capacity to judge between right and wrong, and the prompting of man's reason to do the right when recognized, the problem is to awaken and intensify conscience. The task, though difficult, is not hopeless. Certainly there are definite things to be done that can confidently be counted upon to help bring before the bar of moral judgment all the class and national, and racial wrongs we have been glancing at.

One aid is found in bringing a knowledge of every class, nation and race to all. Consciousness and conscience must advance together. Responsibility respecting those who are

unknown or slightly known is easily brushed aside. In making all the world feel akin and act as kindred, modern education and rapid transit, and means of instantaneous communication should have wrought wonders. The story of man's inhumanity to man is vividly brought before us whether it be the record of ancient wrongs in history or of yesterday's crimes in the newspapers. There is some danger that such surfeit of knowledge and of aroused feeling over cases of wrong, about which we can do as little as for the character of ancient history or of modern fiction, may blunt rather than sharpen our moral sensibilities. But there can be no doubt that bringing the ends of the earth together, making the whole world a whispering gallery, causing all to know how the other half lives, renders it more difficult to wrong anyone and keep a good conscience.

Another quickener of world conscience is a realization of the interdependence of all. The things about which our moral sense is keenest are likely to be those whose meaning is brought home to us in some painful fashion. Perhaps the righteous anger or the punishment visited upon us by a parent for some childish wrong committed has insured a life-long reaction against such wrong. Possibly American labor has been made sensitive to the sad lot of European labor by having it underbid him in the world because living upon the level of the brutes. Maybe a sense of responsibility for sanitary conditions in Asia came to us with cholera and bubonic plague. There is a story that the daughter of Sir Robert Peel died of fever carried to her in a beautiful riding habit. Investigation revealed that it was made in a wretched attic where the seamstress' mother lay dying, the dress be-

ing used in a vain effort to keep her warm during her last hours. That ancient sweated industry of garment making could hardly have been a wrong thereafter ignored by the peer who found the high and the low thus linked together by a common mortality. The weal of the Negro when found to concern the South so intimately that his bad health conditions entail a loss of over three hundred million dollars a year is likely to become of grave concern to the South. That concern will eventuate in more than mere financial consideration. Just now when the whole world has been bound together in new sympathy and new aspirations of universal brotherhood it is of prime importance not to let it slip back into its old ways of selfish indifference. It now has what the old preachers used to call "a realizing sense" of mutual dependence and responsibility. It will be a crime not to keep that great gain from the war's colossal loss.

The leadership of the world's prophets and seers is yet another potent help to universal conscientiousness. They may be teachers promoting moral evolution, the "still small voice," the silent incoming of the tide or right. Or they may be reformers starting moral revolution, "the rushing mighty wind," the tremendous dash of the storm-driven wave far up the beach where not for hours later will lie the fulness of the flood tide. Both will ever be needed. Moral equilibrium is never stable, it can maintain itself upright only by constant advances. Ancient good ever tends to become uncouth. Patriarchs and saints who were models of old could not escape the penitentiary if alive today. The true prophet now as in ancient time to whom we cry, "What of the night? What of the night?" ever calls down from his

watchtower the heartening word, "The day cometh." But he must also add, "And also the night." Thank God! The most glorious day of moral light we shall ever see will seem as darkness to prophets yet unborn, and they will hail with glad faces the dawning of better days. Happy the men or the nations permitted thus to be the moral standard bearers of the race. So the world conscience shall ever more closely approximate eternal truth and right.

And, finally, "living in all good conscience" is ever promoted by referring all individual and group acts to the Ideal. Psychologists remind us that all thought goes on within us as conversation and debate. When thought is aroused to greatest intensity by its consideration of moral issues the inner debate becomes most heated and absorbing. The answering voice is that of public opinion, some honored and deeply loved friend, God himself. As a promoter of right choice and conduct public opinion is mighty. Even more compelling is the known standard of some loving and beloved person. But to the soul that has a sense of the presence of God an apprehension of his will is the sanction of most binding force. When a man believes that what his conscience tells him is right has the approval of the ultimate Ideal, he has his moral strength augmented to the last attainable degree.

It would be captious criticism seriously to object to singing the songs and sounding forth the slogan proclaiming "the Kingship of Christ." Yet while remembering what aspects of truth are symbolized by the terms of monarchy it is well to keep in mind the effect of our terminology upon those we desire to win to our cause. We seek to

promote Christian citizenship, whereas kings have subjects and not citizens. We desire to attract men to Christianity, but the ideals and methods of monarchy are now discredited and repellant. What is most winsome in our faith is the glory of God revealed in Jesus Christ as the friend and brother of men. Where the high uplifted throne will leave men cold, the lowly minister unto all will warm their hearts. If the "great hunger" is to be satisfied, if the world conscience is to be quickened, all mankind must see God in aspects of serving and suffering and loving. Brotherly conduct is ethical conduct, and acquaintance with the God and Father of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ is the surest way to faith in the divine fatherhood and to the practice of human brotherhood.

CHRISTIAN PATRIOTISM

By J. T. W. Stewart, St. Cloud, Florida

Christian patriotism is putting into our national policies and programs Christian principles and goals, and living for them in the exercise of our citizenship. This has reference not only to our internal affairs but also to our relations with other nations and peoples. There are people who take the position that patriotism has nothing to do with our relations to other nations and peoples, and even set patriotism against and in antagonism with the relations we should establish and maintain with other nations of the world. We have recently heard a great deal about patriotism. Some of it is well and good but there is too much of the kind that declares, "America first, America last, America only, and America alone." This is patriotism of a sort, but it is certainly not Christian patriotism.

The Patriotism of Jesus Christ

Our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, was a patriot. No one who has studied his life and knows his teaching will doubt this. In agonizing cry he said, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem that killeth the prophets, and stoneth them that are sent unto her! How often would I have gathered thy children together even as a hen gathereth her own brood under her wings, and ye would not!" How much he would like to have done for Israel! He would like to have established in that little nation all the principles of the kingdom of God, blessed it and made it a blessing to all the world, but "they would not."

Patriotism, like every other natural instinct, is full of self-assertion and sin. The history of Israel illustrates this. Israel's prophets had rightly declared the supremacy of Israel, that the world was to find its center in Jerusalem, and that out from Jerusalem would go the law which should become the fundamental law of every land. This was perverted by Jerusalem's patriotism, which took all the glory to itself and exulted in a selfish nationalism. Jesus Christ stands at the head of a great succession of Israel's prophets who declare that patriotism needs to be purged, curbed and reformed. If you look up patriotism in the Standard dictionary you will find this definition: "Patriotism is love of country." But Christian patriotism is more than that. Christian patriotism is not simply loving one's country, but loving it as Christ would love it. Christ would love this country, not simply for what it has done for us, and is doing for us, but for what it could do and is doing for others.

The Next Step In Patriotism

The United States of America needs to take the next great step in patriotism, which is to determine and to make the effort to give to all the world the blessings which this nation has enjoyed. We are justly proud of our republican democratic form of government and of the spirit which animates it. We are determined to preserve all the good which America stands for and live in the enjoyment of it; but we now need to take the next great step in patriotism and do what we can in the way of bringing these blessings to all the world, believing, as we say in the Declaration of Independence: "All men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." If we are to accomplish this we must not approach it from the viewpoint of political expediency, self-interest, or party tradition, but from the viewpoint of service—service which is the Christian ideal not only for individuals but for nations as well.

The United States has a great and noble service to render to all the world. It is false patriotism that would lead us to live within ourselves and seek only America's interests. It is true of nations as well as of individuals, "He that would save his life shall lose it." It was this selfish nationalism that led to the downfall of the nation of Israel. She did not go out and bear her responsibility for world welfare, as God had asked of her, and Israel fell. So will the United States of America fall if she persists in selfish living.

The League of Nations offers us a definite and direct way in which to render the service which the United

States, as a government, owes the rest of the world. The League of Nations is the greatest proposal presented to us since the presentation of the Constitution of the United States of America.

The Constitution safeguarded the rights and interests of the states of this Union, while the League of Nations safeguards the rights and interests of all nations and peoples of the world. And remember, the United States is not left out of this list. There are difficulties to meet it is true. The adjustments of the interests of the nations who are to be parties to the League may even be attended by war, the very thing the League aims most of all to prevent; but though it means war, let us stand by the League as we stood by the Constitution in the days of the civil war. No one is sorry that we stood by the Constitution, even though it meant civil war. Even the South sees the wisdom of it today. We are now, in deed and in truth, a UNITED STATES—a many in one—a united people. Let us as patriotic Americans also stand for the League of Nations through thick and thin and herald the day of a UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD.

Distrust the Heart of the Opposition

Opposition to the League of Nations finds its origin largely in the element of distrust. The possibility of turning the League to evil account has been emphasized and magnified until there are people who think that an evil purpose is behind it, in it, and through it all. If these people were logical they would never use any means, for there is a possibility of turning every good means to evil account. Let us put away distrust. Let us have faith. Let us aim at the great ideals of the

League, trust one another, and with God's help go forward. Some have even said the League was wrong in aim and purpose, because it was wrong for a few nations to get together and determine what other nations should do. That is the same old personal liberty argument used so long by the liquor interests. If enough nations can get together and are strong enough to stop some nation from going to war they are perfectly within their rights. No nation has any more right to go to war and disturb the peace of the world than some individual has to disturb the peace of any of our cities by coming in and "shooting up the town." As the individual of this nation must subordinate self for the welfare of all the people, so the individual nation should subordinate itself to the good of all mankind.

The Mandatory

The mandatory is a necessary accompaniment of the League of Nations. The strong must help the weak. An advisory or mandatory position is to further the welfare of backward peoples, as in the case of Armenia, helping them to secure a stable government.

England is far ahead of us in this. Her experience with foreign possessions has put her in a position of knowledge and skill in these matters quite unknown to America. She has at times practiced some objectionable things. She did on us in colonial days, and we rebelled. England learned at that time a costly lesson and has profited by it. Today her rule is kindly and helpful on the whole. We need no other witness to this fact than the loyalty of the people of her foreign possessions to her in the great world war. Shame on those who would im-

pute sinister and evil motives to England in her attitude toward the United States of America.

The Christian people of America do not covet the mandatory position, but if we are called to it by the other nations and especially by the people who need our help so much, we should not shrink from it. A man who had been with our army in France said, "Our soldiers who have been over there will never favor such a thing. They will not want to go again." No, they probably do not want to go but if it is clearly their duty to go, will they not go whether they want to or not—just as they did in the great world war? It need not always be largely a military proposition. We can soon set up a civil government as England is to do in Palestine and the people will no doubt speedily learn to take care of themselves. The hasty and indifferent action of our Congress in regard to Armenia is certainly to be deplored and shows, to America's shame, the lack of the Christian missionary spirit in a so-called Christian land. We believe, however, that the missionary spirit is latent in America and if only our national leaders would rise and lead the way the people of these United States will follow as they did when called into the world war.

Let us as true patriotic Americans take the next step in patriotism which will lead us to appreciate our duty and privilege in behalf of others weaker than ourselves and the responsibility of fellowship and co-operation with other nations for the welfare of the world. This is Christian patriotism, namely, to "go into all the world" with a helping hand, and to "love our neighbors as ourselves."

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF MORMONISM

By Mrs. Lulu Loveland Shepard

The opening years of the 19th century furnished fruitful soil for religious cranks, hobbies and isms. Morality and religion were at a low ebb. There were "fallings," "jerkings," "rollings" and "dancing" exercises to the glory of God. Of course all this religious ferment had in it good, as well as evil.

Origin

But if we can believe the historians of that day, while "grace abounded" "sin did much more abound." Mormonism was therefore planted in fertile soil. People delighted in humbuggery, and Joseph Smith is one of the highest examples of the art. He was born in Sharon, Vermont, December 23, 1805, of Scotch parentage. His father was ignorant, lazy and of not much account. He was often engaged like his illustrious son, in digging for Captain Kid's money, and at one time was charged with making counterfeit money, but turned state's evidence and thus escaped punishment. His mother, whom he resembled, had more native wit and shrewdness than her husband. She was given to revelries and fortune telling, I really think Mormonism originated in the mind of Joseph Smith's mother, for she claimed that in a dream God told her that she would produce a seer; and out of her nine children she selected Joseph to be the seer, prophet, magician, fortune teller, discoverer of hidden waters and gold mines, and some other equally honorable (?) and lucrative occupations.

When Joseph was eleven years old the family moved to Palmyra, New

York, and settled on a small farm. Receiving his mother's approval, he procured a divining rod and went into business, locating wells. At another time he claims to have found a peek-stone. His father was digging a well and on a shovel full of dirt was found a peculiar stone. It was translucent and shaped like a baby's foot. He found that by looking through this he could locate any lost article in the world. The people of Palmyra say that the Smiths could locate **found** articles with the same peek-stone.

In 1821 there was sweeping over New York state a great religious upheaval. The Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists were holding revival meetings in Palmyra and some of the Smith family were proselyted into these churches. But Joseph could not himself decide which church was right, hence he decided he would ask God. So he retired to the woods to pray. He claims he had scarcely done so when he was seized upon by some power which entirely overcame him. Darkness surrounded him and he was in dire despair when a great light suddenly surrounded him and he saw two heavenly visions standing above him in the air. One said to him: "This is my beloved son, hear him." As soon as he had possession of his voice he asked which church was right. The angel told him that all churches were wrong; that their creeds were an abomination unto the Lord; that the professing Christians were all corrupt; that they had a form of godliness but denied the power thereof. He tells in his own story how he related this to the Methodist minister at Palmyra, who declared that there were no such thing as visions in these days. He also told it to others and found himself being persecuted. He said that while he was only a boy of fourteen, yet men

of high standing in the community began to take notice of him and there was aroused a bitter feeling and also a continued persecution.

But all the time he claimed he had seen a vision, just as Paul had seen one. He relates his experiences between the time of his first vision and the second one in September, 1823. During these intervening months he admits that he fell into many foolish errors, developed the weaknesses of youth and the foibles of human nature which led him into divers temptations, offensive in the sight of God. In September, when his second vision came, he was in bed and in the act of praying. He claims his room became brightened and he saw the angel Moroni, for he informed him that this was his name, and that God had a work for him to do. Here he tells him about a book written upon golden plates, giving an account of former inhabitants of this continent and the source from which they sprang. He told Joseph that the fulness of the everlasting gospel was contained in this book and that beside the golden plate he would find two stones in silver bowls called the Urim and Thummim, which constituted Seers and that God had prepared them for the purpose of translating the book.

Then the angel Moroni, as he stood by Joseph's bed, began to quote Scripture to him from Malachi, the third and fourth chapters, but he claims he changed quite a few passages of the fourth chapter. He also quoted the eleventh chapter of Isaiah, saying that it was about to be fulfilled; and again from Acts, third chapter, 22nd and 23rd verses; and from Joel the second chapter, the 28th verse to the close of the chapter; and many other passages did he repeat to him. At this time he also told him where he would find

the plates of gold, making it so clear that in his mind's eye he could see the very spot; and he said he knew the spot at once when he visited it. Then the vision suddenly ascended through a conduit that opened right into heaven.

The average reader of Joseph's story would question how he could remember all the Scripture that was repeated to him. This capable prevaricator knew these questions would naturally arise, so he has the angel appear to him a second time, and still a third time during that night. At each visit he repeated his instructions, and by that time morning had arrived and he arose to do the labors of the day. But he had hardly reached his father's field when the vision reappeared and again repeated his message, commanding Joseph to go and tell his father. This he did, and his father assured him that it was God speaking and that he should obey. So he went to the hill Cumorah, now called the Mormon hill, which is in Manchester township, New York, about four miles from Palmyra. Here he claims he found a peculiar box of stone which stood solidly above ground. He procured a lever and raised the box and found there what the angel had told him about. But Moroni was again by his side and told him that it was not yet "the fulness of time," that he must return once a year to the place and at the right time the Gospel would be restored to him.

In reading Joseph Smith's account of these visitations and instructions, there are many discrepancies and one must bear in mind that the first account was never written until 1838, and then with the help of Sidney Rigdon, a renegade preacher from the Disciples church. The story was revised from time to time, always gaining in its miraculous and mysterious

character. It varies in so many particulars that it is difficult to determine what was the original statement. In his description of the plates, he says they were seven inches wide by eight inches long and about the thickness of tin, the thickness of the entire lot being about six inches. On both sides of the plate were written Reformed Egyptian. But why Reformed or why Egyptian, no one knows. He called his Bible the "Book of Mormon," and in explaining the name Mormon, he says: "I may safely say that the word Mormon stands independent of the learning and wisdom of this generation." But he explains that it is a contraction of the English words **more good**. But how Mormon's father knew of the English words, which was the native speech of the prophet centuries later, is a question for historians to consider.

The "Book of Mormon" is supposed to contain the history of some of the descendants of the tribe of Joseph, who came to America about 600 years before Christ. There were two powerful nations, the Nephites were the intellectual and higher civilization, and the Lamanites became the progenitors of the American Indian. Mormon was the Ezra of Joseph's Bible. He was the last of the Nephite generals. He wrote the hieroglyphics upon the golden plates and sealed them up before his death and gave them to his son, Moroni, who planted them in the hill Cumorah, so Joseph Smith could find them. In his translation of his Bible he had Oliver Cowdery, a school teacher of Vermont, to assist him. He would place a curtain between him and Cowdery (because no one was to look upon the golden plates but Joseph), put on his Urim and Thummim and Cowdery would write what he translated. He brought

out his first "Book of Mormon" at Palmyra, New York, in 1830.

Now the particular question is, where did the "Book of Mormon" originate? It can be established beyond all question that the substance of the "Book of Mormon" was written by the Rev. Solomon Spaulding, a graduate of Dartmouth College in 1785. His health failed and he went West to Ohio, where he came in contact with the Indian mounds and fortifications. He adopted the theory that these mounds were never constructed by the Indians whom Columbus brought over here, but were built by people of a pre-historic race, possibly some of the lost tribes of Israel; and he began to write mythical stories and romances, following largely the style of our Bible. His work bore the title, "The Manuscript Found." He used to read to his neighbors portions of this book, for he was a trifle vain of his writings; and these neighbors all testified that the names and peculiar passages which he had in his book are to be found in the "Book of Mormon." He took his writings to a printer at Pittsburgh with a view to publication. Around the office there was Sidney Rigdon, the renegade minister, and all circumstantial evidence points to this man as the one who worked with Smith in making over the manuscript into the "Book of Mormon." Smith at this time was living at Harmony, Pennsylvania, where he was married to Emma Hale. He was living with her people. Rigdon later came out as a preacher of very peculiar doctrines, at Kirtland, Ohio, and was connected with the Mormon church.

Growth

Joseph Smith organized his first church at Fayette, New York, April 6, 1830, with only one member for

every 400,000 of our present population. Today the Mormon church numbers one in every 100. No other church has grown so rapidly in the last fifty years except the Christian Science church. To his church he gave the name "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints." To be a Mormon you must believe that the mission of Jesus Christ failed for eighteen hundred years, until Joseph Smith found the golden plates and restored the Gospel to earth.

Smith did not remain long in New York where he was so well known but determined to take his band and go farther West. He moved to Kirtland, Ohio. He and those with him remained in Ohio seven years and then migrated to Jackson County, Missouri, where they were at continual war with the natives. They were finally driven from Missouri across the river to Nauvoo, Illinois, where Joseph Smith established himself as a ruler over his own kingdom.

At this time Brigham Young, another Vermonter, becomes a part of this growing cult. Joseph recognizes in him a leader, a power, a business manager. He sends Brigham on a mission to the British Isles to make converts, and Brigham did such splendid work that he brought back hundreds from England, Scotland and Wales (not one from old Ireland though) to the church which has now grown to 15,000 members. But a storm was rapidly gathering. Smith had been mixed up with a number of women and had made some of his most faithful men jealous because of his attention to their wives. He admitted that he had an "affectionate" spirit, and had already begun to advocate spiritual wives. This started at Kirtland, and Smith by various preliminary steps began to promulgate the doctrine

of polygamy. This aroused the antagonism of the people of Illinois opposed to Mormonism and Joseph and Hyrum Smith were arrested and thrown into jail at Carthage, Illinois, the county seat of Hancock. Here a mob attacked the jail on July 27, 1844. Joseph saw there was no escape, as the state militia which surrounded the jail could not cope with the mob. He tried to escape through a back window, but was shot down.

I believe if Joseph Smith had been allowed to live he would have killed Mormonism long ago with his own pernicious teachings and fantasies. But, dead, he became a martyr and Mormonism began to grow on his martyrdom.

At this time there came a split in the church. A number of branches were formed, but of these only two have become large enough to attract attention. Those who believed that Joseph Smith got the revelation on polygamy from God followed Brigham Young and went to Utah. Those who believed he got it from the devil, if he got it at all, followed Emma Smith, his legitimate wife, and in time the "Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints" was formed with headquarters at Lamoni, Iowa, now in Independence, Missouri. We are not dealing with this church, but with the Latter Day Saints in Utah. Suffice it to say that both are Mormons. Both accept the "Book of Mormon" as their Bible. Both accept Joseph Smith as the prophet of the latter days, as Jesus was prophet of the former days. Hence we cannot fellowship with the Reorganized church.

To the present, the Mormons of Utah have had the following presidents: Brigham Young; John Taylor; Wilford Woodruff; Lorenzo Snow; Joseph F. Smith, a nephew of the

founder; and the present president, Heber J. Grant. The church has grown to fully a million members, as Grant claims they increased their membership twenty per cent this year.

THE "FOR MEN ONLY" SHOW

By Mrs. Mary S. Koehne

A grave danger rivaling Mormonism threatens every nook and corner of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and other states of our Union in the "For Men Only" shows frequenting our agricultural fairs and street carnivals. One such show recently investigated at a county fair was so vile that a plain statement of what took place in that tent, with decent men and young boys present, would be so obscene that it would be unlawful to send it through the United States mails.

This show was of such a nature that it polluted the minds, degraded the morals, and might have given contagious disease to the men and boys taking part in the orgie to communicate to their innocent wives and helpless children. It was stated by two of the girls that they were raised in the church. One of these said she hadn't any folks; the other stated that her father was dead and her folks did not know where she was. She may be one of the seventy thousand girls who yearly drop out of sight in our fair land and, like many a girl so lost, the daughter of a good mother—lured away from a home she felt to be too exacting—ignorant and innocent of the white-slavery into which she was going.

Who supports these shows? Curious men and boys of all degrees of education, from good homes and bad, Christian and non-Christian. These shows make "big money." Who gets these "wages of sin?"

First: The Fair Association or Car-

nival receives sometimes two dollars a front foot for the concession and forty per cent. of the receipts.

Second: The manager of the show, whatever he can make.

Third: What the poor girls receive no one knows. We were told twenty-five dollars each per week. But when dress, (costume), railway fare, room and board are paid, what is left for these poor victims of our social order?

Who is responsible for the presence of these unlawful shows at our fairs and carnivals?

First: The Agricultural Fair Association, subsidized by the state, on condition that they keep out gambling and immoral shows, (which condition is seldom fulfilled,) and the Street Carnival Managers, who bring them.

Second: That part of the public which patronizes them.

Third: The general public which knows the evil and does not try to remedy it.

Fourth: The officers of the law who do not do their duty in enforcing the law.

Fifth: The preachers, educators, missionary, W. C. T. U. and Y. W. C. A. members, and club women, who are unwilling to co-operate in a public movement to persuade the Fair Company or Carnival Manager to obey the laws as to keeping a gambling place or places, and immoral shows, or prosecute them for violation of said law.

To quote Gov. Coolidge: "The observance of the law is the greatest solvent of public ills."

Sixth: The lawyers who refuse to take a case and hesitate to advise organizations formed to try to cure these evils, secure obedience to law and keep a clean moral atmosphere in which to bring up their children.

There is no greater menace to our

democracy—no more serious "strike against the public safety, by anybody, anywhere at any time" to quote again, than this disobedience to the laws of our state on the part of our Fair Associations and Street Carnivals and the public apathy in enforcing the laws in regard to lewd shows and gambling.

The Remedy

Obedience and enforcement of law are vital to the very existence of our democracy.

Law is violated year after year by the appearance at our street carnivals and country fairs of the "For Men Only" shows and all kinds of gamblers and gambling devices.

What methods can secure obedience to the law is the vital question.

First: Arrest of the gambler and seizing of wheel at one fair caused a "Sunday School Fair" (to quote the gate-keeper) to be held the next year.

Second: Two ministers took out their watches and informed the representative of The Fair Association that the officers of the same would be arrested if in fifteen minutes the lewd shows and gambling places were not closed. They were closed, not to reappear at that fair for several years, if at all.

Third: The printing of Pennsylvania's laws concerning gambling and lewd shows, in daily paper circulating in the town and county, caused a telegram to be sent by the Fair Association, sending back the whole lawless gang "headed this way."

Fourth: The renting of a booth (never accept one free) for the display of posters and pictures, the distribution of temperance, Y. W. C. A. and other Christian literature, and the presenting of a petition for a clean fair, signed by Sabbath School super-

intendents, ministers, Red Cross presidents, and presidents of women's clubs and missionary societies, educators, etc., had the desired effect of keeping these evils out for that one year. The next year they were all in evidence again.

Fifth: A resolution sent to the Fair Association by representatives of the ministerial association, W. C. T. U., missionary societies and women's clubs of the town, offering "to co-operate with said Fair Association in every educational, moral and agricultural effort, and wholesome amusements; and to that end appointing committees of representative citizens to investigate the various attractions with a view to attaining those ends," resulted in the Fair Association securing a detective and a constable who closed one vile show and sent away a few of the many gamblers present. As a sincere enforcement of the law, it was a farce.

How long are our people going to permit our young men to be robbed of their money as well as their health and morals by these unlawful shows and gambling games!

NOTES

Could you not write five friends of yours to become subscribers for The Christian Statesman at a Dollar a year each? Perhaps when you go to church next Sabbath—take this copy with you—you will find it convenient to see the very people who would be most interested. You need not ask them for the money. Have them sign their names and addresses on a sheet of paper. Then mail the list to us and we will if you prefer attend to the details. We can hear you say, "I'll do that."

Only about ten days remain to renew or secure new subscribers at \$1.00. We feel sure that you have a circle of friends who for some reason are not acquainted with The Christian Statesman. They are relying upon you as a friend to know about it. Will you not tell them that the best opportunity they will ever have is theirs from now till October 1?

We know a Christian lady in Colorado whose vote was solicited by a certain office-seeker. She proceeded to commit him to Sabbath observance and Volsteadism and then rounded him up as a subscriber to The Christian Statesman. She did him a real service before election. "O you woman!" **You are on your job.** How about your sister? There are office-seekers around you that would do anything to please you. It is your opportunity to do them good and be a good citizen, too. Yes, ask them for the Dollar.

The aforesaid lady tells us that in Colorado the women are printing a list of candidates they can endorse. As a result the politicians are either in hot water or falling over themselves to be nice, which shows they haven't been used to it. We suggest that a condition to their being listed is that they publish their bans with **The Christian Statesman** thirty days before election. We appoint you, sister, to collect the Dollar fee.

Are you interested in a library, a college, a seminary, a Y. M. C. A., a Y. W. C. A., or woman's club, and The Christian Statesman—ENOUGH to introduce them? We spread the feast for \$1.00 a plate—twelve courses. Will you do the inviting?

Current Notes and Opinions

FREE DIVORCE

Mrs. Phillips Snowden, a well-known English woman, has been making some investigations in Bolshevik Russia. Quite naturally she is predisposed to view the experiment there with as much favor as possible; because she is a devoted supporter of her husband's policies, and he is a labor member of the English House of Commons.

After a thorough investigation she is forced to admit that life is unspeakably hard for the Russian women under the Soviet rule. In addition to bearing the children, and caring for the home, they are required to perform their full share of work in field or factory. There is only one freedom for them, apparently and that is the freedom of divorce. Mrs. Snowden says that divorce is "absolutely free." This means when any couple are mutually dissatisfied they separate and go to make new unions. No other cause is necessary than the feeling of mutual dissatisfaction.

We read many deep reasonings from profound students of the Russian situation to demonstrate that the Bolshevik movement must fall. But in the research by Mrs. Snowden the one fact cited above is sufficient. No state can long endure where the family tie has lost its sanctity. Free divorce is only another name for free love. And free love is only another name for free destruction.

With a corrupt military rulership as the government; and with free divorce, free love, free destruction, as the relation between the sexes, the Russian

experiment is doomed. And the pity of it all is that a deeply religious and largely a wholesome people have been turned and consecrated to this rulership of evil—evil in government and deeper evil in the individual life.

SUGAR MEN ARE INDICTED

Despite all opposing local influences, the federal grand jury at Salt Lake has indicted a horde of sugar men on charges of profiteering; and they must answer in court.

The bare facts, as told by the *Mormon Deseret News*, are as follows:

Two indictments have been found against Merrill Nibley, vice president and assistant general manager of the Utah-Idaho Sugar company, and James E. Jennings, part owner of the Hanna Jennings Warehouse company. The first indictment charges them with carrying on the business of wholesale dealers in sugar without a license in direct violation of the Lever act.

The second charges them with conspiring to violate the criminal code of the Lever act in having in their possession and under their control 10,000,000 pounds of sugar which they are alleged to have purchased from Ernest R. Woolley, former owner of the Delta Beet Sugar corporation, and president of the West Cache Sugar company for \$15 and to have sold the sugar in the east for alleged exorbitant prices ranging from \$17.50 to \$30 per hundred pounds.

* * * * *

Another indictment in 10 counts charges the Utah-Idaho Sugar company with selling sugar at \$23.48, which cost them but \$9.44 to make. Each count names a specific charge where the company is alleged to have sold sugar to local jobbers at an alleged exorbitant and immoderate price. A second indictment names the Utah-Idaho Sugar company and eight officers and directors. The officers and directors are charged with aiding and abetting the company in sugar profiteering. They are Charles W. Nibley, Merrill Nibley, Stephen H. Love, W. H. Wattis, W. S. McCormick, James D. Murdock, David A. Smith and Thomas R. Cutler. A third indictment charges these officers and directors who voted for the

increase in the sugar price last May 1 with conspiring to demand an "excessive, immoderate, exorbitant and unjust price for sugar" and contains three counts.

This case will be watched with intense interest by the whole country. Sugar profiteering, through the medium of watered stock and extortionate prices has been a favorite financial game with Mormon hierarchs for many years, and now some of their business associates (Mormon and non-Mormon) are entangled in the law. Every person in the land has paid tribute to the sugar combine. And we are now to see whether the government can inflict a punishment.

"FACE ABOUT" POLICIES

What a difference twenty years makes! In 1900 the leaders of the Republican party were talking of world politics, "Manifest destiny," Dewey's providential adventure in Manila Bay, and were urging a mandate for the Philippines. The leaders of the Democratic party were denouncing imperialism, quoting Washington's farewell address, and standing for a policy of national isolation. Today these attitudes are exactly reversed, Armenia being the occasion for argument. Which policy is the better depends wholly upon the motive with which it is undertaken. Switzerland minds its own business and cuts an admirable figure in international life. Great Britain, on the other hand, goes everywhere and usually makes conditions better than she finds them. If the United States goes abroad as it did in the Philippines or as is now proposed in the case of Armenia, it may accomplish untold good. If it goes abroad purely at the behest of selfish commercial interests, as is sometimes proposed, all our Christian citizens will feel humiliated.—*Pacific Christian Advocate*.

The above is a well written statement of the "face about" policies of political parties and of how little reliance in the last analysis can be placed upon them ordinarily for statesmanlike leadership. In the struggle for place and power they are far too apt to set their sails to catch every political wind that blows, in the hope that they may be carried to some port where the

party leaders will have position and influence; rather than to map out their course with chart and compass, steer straight to the haven of national security and fling out their banners inscribed with defiance to the winds that waft to personal pelf and power, catching only the patriotic breezes that come from those who love country rather than self and who, in loving country, love and serve their country's Lord. The present is an hour, perhaps above all others in our own history and that of the world, which calls for a political party that will openly espouse every righteous cause of national and international significance—a party whose leaders display not only deep-seated convictions but also the courage of these convictions on every worthwhile question.

In less than one-fourth of the states more than one-half the divorces of the nation were granted in 1916, and for three score years previous. Is yours one of the states? Read "THE DIVORCE CRIME" and accompanying tables in the November issue.

One of our new subscribers in Maine writes us he should have had it sooner. Thousands should have had it already. Go tell them.

The most conservative states in the granting of divorces doubled their output from 1906 to 1916! Two other states have a divorce for every four marriages! What is the remedy? What can YOU do? Read the article on "The Divorce Crime," in our next issue and you will find something **concrete for each citizen**.

The Sunday big newspaper eats the forest and litters the streets.

One-tenth the divorces granted in 1916, in 62 counties, were at a rate beyond any record in heathenism! Is it too late to save the nation? Read the facts—official reports—in the November issue. Don't omit to read what you are to do then.

Can **The Christian Statesman** depend on you? For what? To send in your club of new subscribers at the old price by October 1.

Don't be satisfied with passing some one your **Statesman**. He will think more of you if you take his subscription, especially if you take it before Oct. 1.

How is divorce affecting child life in America? You will get the facts in our next issue. No one interested in the problem of youth should miss the article on "The Divorce Crime."

You will have noticed that we are on a drive for new subscribers to **The Christian Statesman**. Get into the procession. The first band wagon says, "Get a Hundred." The tail end one says, "Get one." In either case you are in the procession. Don't stand idly by. Come on. Get one anyway.

Our nation now has the distinction of leading all nations, even Japan, in devotion to the divorce dragon. What does this dragon feed on? American homes! The fountain head of our national life! Study the map and charts and read the authentic array of facts in the November issue by Francis Miner Moody, Executive Secretary of the International Committee on Marriage and Divorce. Get your order in early for extra copies at 20 cents.

What is a Christian nation's "plain duty" with reference to safeguarding the Christian type of home? The answer appears in the November issue. **Don't miss reading it first-hand.**

Jabez says: "Mr. Syndicalist, your father didn't know when he was well off. He ought to have stayed in the old country and had his head shot off before you were thought of."

Jabez says: Mr. Politician, you can take your Christianity everywhere you go. Nothing can harm it. Even the devil will flee before it.

Jabez says: Let them go on. The whisky men got rich by evil. Now let them get poor by squandering their money foolishly trying to perpetuate the evil.

Oct. 1 there will be some who will say, "I wish I had." NOW is the acceptable time. Subscribe NOW. Solicit now. Be a working friend of **The Christian Statesman**.

At the present rate, in five years all the whisky will have gone to hell.

ONE LAW FOR MEN AND NATIONS

Speaking of the World Alliance recently held in Switzerland the editor of **CHRISTIAN WORK** has to say in his issue of July 10th:

Some of the most distinguished leaders of the English, French, German, Scandinavian, Dutch, Swiss, Greek and American Churches are to be present. To this meeting we happen to know that the English, American, Swiss, and Scandinavian delegates are going bound to insist that the time has come for the Church in every nation to proclaim in the name of Jesus Christ that the nations must order their relationships by just exactly those same principles that obtain between Christian

men everywhere; that they must realize that the thing that makes a Christian great, service, is the only thing that makes a nation great; that the state must be guided in its every act by the same principles that guide the Christian gentleman; that the laws of brotherhood and neighborhood which Jesus gave to men he intended equally for nations; that nations must live the community life as much as men; that strong nations are under the same obligation to the weak nations that the strong Christian man is toward the weak of the world; that the kingdoms of this world belong to Jesus Christ as much as the men who dwell therein.

The above timely utterances are manifestly based on the fact of the moral entity and responsibility of nations, as such. A nation is not a mob, a mass, a company, but a living unit. It possesses a life of its own, not absolutely independent of, yet quite separate and distinct from that of the church, the family, even the individuals that constitute it. It has its own intelligence, will, conscience and consciousness. It has character. It acts as a man acts. It can and does do right and wrong. It can and does receive reward and punishment at the hand of God. It is under moral law and therefore responsible to a moral governor. To illustrate, our nation is a man about 107,000,000 times larger than the average man among us. As the great philosopher Bluntschli puts it, "Nations are only individuals on a larger scale."

It is this fundamental truth of the distinct moral entity and consequent responsibility of nations, as such, that needs emphasis in this crucial hour in the world's history. The world has gone wrong because nations have failed to recognize this great truth and govern themselves accordingly. Even our own nation, the pride and envy of all the nations of the earth, has too largely forgotten it. As a consequence she has become selfish, self-centered, self-willed. Not the will of God, but the will of the people independent of Him,

and oftentimes contradictory to His will, is the rule of national life and the standard of national conduct. Hence our unscriptural marriage and divorce system, not to mention other great evils. Hence also our refusal to assume responsibility for other and weaker nations.

A crying need of the hour is that Christian citizens band themselves together—as citizens—in a definite, concrete, coherent movement to have our beloved America, the exemplar for all nations, recognize her moral responsibility and take her stand, as a nation, openly, fairly and squarely on the side of the Lord of nations and pledge herself to be governed by His will in the solution of all her problems, national and international. Applied Christianity is the remedy for present-day ills, both within and among nations.

ROBERTS IS A REVEALER

Of all people, Brigham H. Roberts has practically confessed that the Mormon church interests determine the politics of Utah!

Roberts is one of the hierarchy—sometimes turbulent and dangerous to the plans of his superiors. He is a polygamist and was excluded, in 1901, from congress because of his practice.

This year he was a candidate for the Democratic nomination to the governorship of Utah. Without interference, probably he would have won both nomination and election; for he is a great orator much beloved by his people. But he has withdrawn from the race; and he publishes a letter which reveals to the informed mind new proof of the political intrigue of Mormonism. Roberts says:

"I address this announcement to my many friends throughout the state of Utah. "Political developments of the last few

days have convinced me of the unwisdom of persisting in my candidacy for the governorship of Utah.

"While I cannot but feel that there is an element of injustice to me personally in the created necessity, as I view it, of my withdrawal from the race, which I was not only encouraged but urged to make by my many friends from all parts of the state, still I cannot allow that sense of personal injustice to weigh against what I consider the welfare and chances for success of the Democratic party in Utah.

"That I could by continued effort win the nomination in the forthcoming Democratic convention I have not a doubt, but after the nomination, the likelihood of our party being assailed by the cry or the whisper that the interest of the dominant church in Utah would require the defeat of the candidate for governor on the Democratic ticket, would inject into the campaign an element that I am and always have been most anxious to keep out of our Utah politics. I can do that now by taking the step which will remove all occasion for it in the present campaign, namely, by withdrawing my candidacy, which I here and now do."

Evidently Roberts has been advised that the present intention of the Mormon church is to desert the Democratic party this year, and to flock to the Republican party.

The states where Mormon power abides were the conclusive power in electing President Wilson four years ago—(and what price Mormonism has collected for that service!) But having gained as allies some of its former Democratic critics, the church is ready to make new arrangements.

MINISTERING TO DEMORALIZATION

Many newspapers are contributing definitely to a demoralization of the social mind by making sensational presentation—without contradiction—of the wild and immoral "arguments" which are offered occasionally in behalf of polygamy. Usually these "arguments" originate with people whose desire for notoriety is apparent. They want to get into flaring newspaper

notice. And usually they succeed. Here is a typical case. The article which follows was printed on the front page of a great conservative paper:

POLYGAMY, BACKED BY BIBLE, IS DIVORCE SOLUTION AND AID TO MORALS, SAYS PASTOR

LOS ANGELES, Calif., Aug. 29—According to Dr. Walter O. Henry, hero in an alleged double life drama of Los Angeles and Omaha, in which Hazel Henderson, a petite young nurse, figured as a lead, and who now, following Dr. Henry's being divorced by his wife, is Mrs. Walter O. Henry No. 2, polygamy is a beneficent, civilizing custom, sanctioned by the Bible and conducive to public and private morality.

Dr. Henry, following publication of a recent booklet of his authorship, in which the thrilling chapters of his vivid courtship of Miss Henderson, his office employe, are set forth in graphic style, has issued a challenge to debate the benefits of polygamy with anyone.

"Polygamy," says Dr. Henry with challenging stressfulness, "is the only solution of America's divorce problem, the only solution which conforms with the teachings of the Bible and also modern medical science. The world would indeed be better off, happier and more hygienic."

Dr. Henry implies the Bible explicitly exhorts to polygamy and that any man-made law or customs in opposition to this teaching are wrong and unjustified.

Dr. Henry's issued challenge is a challenge to the Creator and His primary law for the relation of the sexes. Henry cannot find in the history of mankind one fact to justify the substitution of polygamy for monogamy as the marriage order.

The Christian Statesman has often traversed the ground of social experience and statistics, showing that the numerical equilibrium of the sexes—an equilibrium which is always maintained under normal conditions and restored in one generation if temporarily disturbed by abnormal conditions—speaks the first and last authoritative fact against polygamy.

Dr. Henry might as well challenge the tides to debate whether motionlessness of the mighty seas would not be

preferable to their ordained movement.

Knapp and Cannon in their book, "Brigham Young and His Mormon Empire," have analyzed the doctrine and practice of polygamy; and their historical recitals, their weighing of its psychology and physiology, and their array of statistics, all demonstrate that polygamy is forbidden by the law of nature. It is not a "beneficent civilizing custom." It is not "conducive to public and private morality." It is such an atrocious violation of the natural order that the moral standards all fall where it is in general practice for any considerable period.

Dr. Henry's implication that the Bible explicitly exhorts to polygamy is as false as his social reasoning. He cannot find in the Holy Bible one word which "explicitly exhorts to polygamy." It is a wretched case which seeks to bolster itself with falsehoods concerning God's word to man.

But the issue ought to be raised against the newspapers for printing such stuff, in an encouraging way. If these people with wild and demoralizing vagaries were blistered by the public press, their passion for notoriety might be consumed; and certainly people of partly formed opinions would not be led away so easily from the high ground of morality and social convention in this supreme domain of Christian marriage.

THE DENVER RIOTS

Last August, Denver had a street-car strike, followed by serious riots. Seven people were killed; more than a score were wounded by bullets or severely beaten; the office of a newspaper, friendly to union labor but opposed to this particular strike, was

sacked; much property was destroyed; and United States troops were called to restore and preserve the peace.

The Denver tramway had been running at a loss. Increase of fares had been denied by public vote. The district court had enjoined the company from closing down, on the ground that public right came first. Counsel for the union operatives had assented to the injunction. And then the operatives demanded still more pay. When it was refused, (because the tramway company was incurring indebtedness to pay even current wages) the union men walked out in a body.

The company employed non-union men, "strike-breakers," to run the cars; and strike-sympathizers attacked the cars, the non-union workmen, the passengers and the police.

Denver has been a strong union town; but this strike and its attendant tragedies and destructions have aroused "The Employers Association" and many citizens to make a fight for "The Open Shop."

Herbert George, the president of the association, is sending broadcast a letter from which we quote some rather terse—if not bitter—paragraphs:

Class consciousness must be wiped out. We are all capitalists and labor is capital and our interests are identical. Strikes are an economic waste and they must stop. Our mutual interests demand that we pull together.

* * *

Production must be brought to normal again. The more there is produced the more there is to be divided. Parasites who live on other fellows' wages must go to work themselves. Production brings prosperity—loafing leads to soup kitchens.

* * *

We must all realize the necessity of treating the boss as we would like to be treated if we were boss, and bosses must treat workers as they would like to be treated if they were workers.

* * *

We must see to it that every man who can work and who wants to work shall have the opportunity to do so, whether he

carries a union card or does not. America is free and her workers must be free. The "Open Shop" is the American way.

* * *

We have just rented the billboard on top of a one-story building near Seventeenth and Welton and are going to paint a big Open Shop sign on it. The man who owns the block wants to put up a six-story brick building in the spring and reckons that he can get brick enough thrown at that sign by the union men to enable him to put up the building.

* * *

It will be a long while before a pack of anarchists will attempt any more street car strikes in Denver. Denver is slow to arouse but when it gets its fighting clothes on it can whip its weight in wild-cats, and it certainly got away with a few wild-cats in this late riot.

* * *

The thing for everybody to do now is to forget the whole nasty mess and start over again. It has been demonstrated that 1,000 followers of St. Gompers can't clean up 250,000 people who are followers of Uncle Sam's union.

* * *

Our Open Shop founders are getting along fine and the apprenticeship rules that prevail in them enable us to turn out about ten moulders where the union limited apprenticeship rules allowed us to turn out one. Limitation of apprenticeships and denial of jobs to manual training school boys has come to an end so far as Denver is concerned and has got to come to an end everywhere.

* * *

It is not what a man is paid that counts—it is how much work he does for the money that is paid him. There is many a man who can turn in work enough to earn \$15 a day and is entitled to the money he earns, but the cheap-shirking, clock-watching, card-honoring fanatic who wants to give about \$3.00 worth of work and draw down \$15.00 has got to walk the plank. The Employers Association is not trying to bust up unions. It is simply trying to bust up the fool agitators who are leading its legitimate, decent union men astray. A man has as good a right to belong to a union as he has to a church, but the day is long past when Americans will stand for a church or anything else assuming the responsibility of running this nation. The Employers Association is trying to beat down the idea of dividing our people into classes. It is a mistake to become class conscious and lose faith in each other.

* * *

There is estimated to be about 35,000 agitators on the payroll of the American Federation of Labor, which takes one hundred millions in toll every year from the union followers who cling to Gompers. They put Gompers' union above Uncle

Sam's Union and there is where they make their mistake.

* * *

We are all loafing on our jobs. That applies to everybody. Everybody is profiteering, getting all they can get with the least possible effort. Production per man is the lowest in the history of America since the American Indian bossed the job.

* * *

We have got to get over the idea of trying to get something for nothing. We have got to quit trying to beat the other fellow by law or by force. We have got to be fair with each other. The fact is most of us have forgotten the Golden Rule.

* * *

The Closed Shop in industry denies a man a chance to earn a living unless he joins a union, and the union limits its members in order to limit the supply of labor. The Closed Shop means a rule of majority by minority and is un-American and must go.

FIVE MILLION and more were named in divorce decrees granted in the first twenty years of this century in America. Divorce is booming. What shall we do? Read the November issue, first of all.

Articles like that of Dr. Forrest of the University of Virginia in this issue, ought to go to every college and seminary and educator in the land. One Dollar will do the work. We want the advantage of your personal contact.

The prospect of a Christian daily that will exclude unworthy matter, be trustworthy in its news, and put a proper relative emphasis upon the day's doings is finding a response. We have a goodly list who have sent in their initial payment along with their \$1.00 for The Christian Statesman. Until October 1 we offer The Christian Statesman and the American Christian Daily (Chicago) for \$10.00—\$2.00 now, \$4.00 when the daily is first received and \$4.00 later. We are making this offer because we believe the enterprise worthy of our moral support.

Mormonism-at-Large

MORMON EFFRONTERY

A reader of the Christian Statesman in Salt Lake City sends us the following from the Detroit News, Michigan, as an example, she says, of "the kind of misinformation disseminated in newspapers concerning Utah conditions and also of the necessity of the kind of work the National Reform Association is doing through the columns of the Christian Statesman and otherwise."

POLYGAMY ILLEGAL IN UTAH

Could you tell us why polygamy is allowed in the state of Utah, while in any other state a person would be charged with bigamy?
INQUISITIVE.

Polygamy is not allowed in Utah, acts having been passed prohibiting this practice in 1862, 1882 and again in 1887. In October, 1890, the general conference of the Mormon church adopted a resolution which struck out of the necessary beliefs and practices of that church the practice of polygamy. Utah was only admitted to statehood in 1896, after the clause "polygamous or plural marriages are forever prohibited" had been adopted in the state constitution.

That answer reveals on the part of its author one of two things—either consummate ignorance or unmitigated gall. Manifestly the inquirer was asking: "Why the continued practice of polygamy in Utah in the face of the statutes and condition narrated in the reply? And to be told that it is allowed because it is not allowed is rather aggravating, to say the least, if not pity-provoking. If the writer of the answer does not know that polygamy has been, and is still, practiced in Utah, notwithstanding what he narrates, he is to be pitied. If on the other hand, he is seeking to convey

the information that the law is being obeyed, when he knows it is not, he is to be bitterly censured. In either case, he is unworthy of confidence. Perhaps he is a Mormon, or a jack-Mormon. Anyway, he is not competent to write for the information of the public.

The brief and correct answer to the query is that polygamy is allowed in Utah because the Mormon hierarchal political power protects it or, as the polygamous Joseph F. Smith, the late President of the Mormon Kingdom said when on the witness stand in Washington, "because the officers of the law in my State have some respect for me."

PROHIBITION LAPSES IN UTAH

If the article which here follows had been first printed in Pittsburgh, there would have been a howl from the Mormon church against the "ungodly liars who defame the Lord's anointed;" and probably there would have been a convocation of "western governors" to protest against "this libel upon the fair name of Utah." But the article was published first in The Citizen, a weekly paper of Salt Lake City; and the Mormon church is silent under the charges. We are informed that The Citizen has some leanings to independence of view—certainly it is courageous of utterance. Also we are informed that the firm of Davidson & Lake, mentioned in the article, is a Mormon firm, Lake himself belonging to the higher priesthood of the church; and that Mathoniah Thomas, described in the article as the federal prohibition officer for Utah, is a distinguished elder of Mor-

monism, and one of the several candidates approved by church leaders for the governorship.

Here is the article as it appeared in *The Citizen*, of Salt Lake City, August 7, 1920, under the heading, "State Administration Backs Liquor Traffic:"

The city and state are flooded with alcoholic beverages, the manufacture of which is made possible by the federal and state administrations. The state is as truly engaged in the liquor business—the bootlegging business might be a more accurate term—as if it made the beverages in factories of its own.

In one hamlet in Southern Utah 7,000 ounces of fruit extracts, containing about 50 per cent alcohol, have been sold since January 1 and the alcohol was sold to the manufacturer by the state.

Eight-ounce bottles of these extracts which Fred W. Crockett, the city prosecuting attorney, describes as "the cleverest camouflage ever devised to defeat prohibition," are sold retail at a dollar and a half a bottle and wholesale at eighty-seven cents a bottle.

The manufacturers get the alcohol from the state at 10 per cent above cost and sell the product at an enormous profit. Thousands of these bottles are consumed every day, causing so much drunkenness that the city prosecutor has been driven to cry out in protest against the federal and state administrations.

Empty bottles of these fruit extracts are found by the scores at resorts, at public places, vacant lots and by the side of the roads, silent but eloquent witnesses of the extent to which the traffic has grown.

In the month of July there were 115 convictions for drunkenness. Day after day the city prosecuting attorney is called upon to send to jail men who are made drunk by the connivance of the state of Utah and by the federal administration.

In addition to the fruit extracts, denatured alcohol is being sold in vast quantities. Men and women have gone blind or have died in Salt Lake City within the last few months as a result of consuming this deadly alcoholic concoction as a beverage. The other day a man appeared before the city court as a witness and begged that his wife be sent to jail because she was going blind and crazy from drinking denatured alcohol.

The city prosecuting attorney is daily confronted by pathetic cases that wring his heart. A boy is arrested and his mother goes to Mr. Crockett and pleads with him to have her son released so that he will not lose his job. The lad has been sentenced to thirty days in jail because he became inebriated by drinking a fruit ex-

tract licensed by the federal government and virtually made by the state.

The law punishes the victim severely. The city judge cannot show mercy. The law provides that the victim shall be sentenced to pay a fine of \$50 or serve thirty days in jail. The victim goes to jail, loses his job, disgraces his parents and becomes marked as a bum, while the grocer or soft drink purveyor who sold him the deadly liquor, as well as the manufacturer, is permitted to go unwhipped of justice, aye permitted and licensed to grow rich.

The city prosecuting attorney tried to stop the traffic at its sources, but he found, to his amazement, that the extracts were being made under governmental authority.

On April 3, J. S. Powell, a grocer, who had been selling orange and other extracts containing alcohol, was arrested and charged with violating the law. James W. Shields, who was then on the police force, had the evidence, but when the case came up for trial on May 6 he was one of the federal prohibition officers and as a result of information he had gathered in that capacity he testified that the maker of the extract was licensed by the federal authorities and manufactured the product with alcohol purchased from the state.

In astonishment and disgust Mr. Crockett asked that the case against the grocer be dismissed and no conscientious man will find fault with him for taking this action. Here was a prosecuting attorney asking for the conviction of a man who was selling an alcoholic beverage in which the federal administration, the state and the maker had practically formed a partnership.

The extract was manufactured by the Davidson-Lake Tea & Coffee Company of Salt Lake. It is marked "Capitol Brand" and bears on its label a picture of the Utah state capitol. It is labeled "Substitute Orange Extract," though why the word substitute is used is not clear.

The samples taken from the grocery were submitted to Herman Harms, the state chemist, for analysis. He reported that the extract contained 48 per cent. alcohol, or practically as much as high grade whiskey. In other words, it is just as intoxicating as whiskey and many will prefer its flavor to that of whiskey or gin. It is not a distilled liquor, but simply a mixture of alcohol and flavoring. Drink an eight-ounce bottle of it and you will spit in the face of a mountain lion; you will throw up your job and go over to the public safety building and say you can lick any man in the department, bar none.

This is the "Capitol Brand" of bootlegging. An administration which was elected to enforce the prohibition law is supplying the alcohol to debauch our citizens.

J. S. Powell, the grocer, testified that he sold the extract just as he did any other articles of his trade. He said that some-

times little boys and girls came into his store and purchased it for their elders. Since that time Mr. Powell, we understand, has discontinued the sale of the liquor, but it is still being manufactured with the help of the state of Utah.

A few doors from the Powell grocery was a soft drink parlor which was selling the extract in its "soft drinks." The place was crowded with patrons who ordered root beer or ginger ale and asked that some of the extract be poured into the drink. Thus they obtained a drink even the smell of which made them dizzy and soon they were drunk enough to tell their mother-in-laws what they really thought of them.

The police found in this place five dozen "empties" of the fruit extracts—orange, pineapple, strawberry, etc.

The daily papers tell us that a man who had been drinking the pineapple extract was found dead in his room at a hotel.

The city prosecuting attorney was fulfilling a conscientious duty when he cried out in protest, accusing the "higher-ups." He had listened to the pleas of mothers, wives and sisters until his office in the public safety building had become a place of sorrow and never-ceasing tears. But he could give no solace or help because the federal and state authorities were responsible for the manufacture of the beverage.

On July 25 the police found six men in a helpless state of intoxication in a vacant lot. One of them was asleep and scores of flies were in his open mouth. Strewn about the lot were bottles which had contained the flavoring extract.

In the face of such evidence a state official speaking to a reporter on the anniversary of the state's going dry, brazenly stated that prohibition had been a complete success, or words of that import. And at the very time that this official, who is in the service of the apathetic attorney general, spoke this preposterous eulogy, the state itself was supplying the alcohol for a traffic which is turning prohibition throughout Utah into a travesty.

The federal prohibition officer, Matt Thomas, had the hardihood to challenge the statement of Mr. Crockett. In a long letter to one of the daily papers he made a rambling defense of his own department, as if it had been attacked. Is he the federal official who licenses the makers of alcoholic beverages, or is it another? At all events, he excused the wholesale use of extracts as a beverage by the statement that the federal prohibition law permits and legalizes the manufacture of fruit extracts with a heavy alcoholic content on the theory that they are not beverages.

Mr. Thomas is a lawyer and perhaps he knows more about the mysteries of legal verbiage and about legislative "jokers" than the layman, but we wish to call his attention to the fact that the law bans

any alcoholic extract "readily susceptible of use as a beverage."

After being confronted by the evidence available in the office of the city prosecuting attorney will the federal prohibition officer say that the orange and pineapple extracts which are being sold by the thousands of bottles every day to individual consumers are not "readily susceptible for use as beverages?" Will he say that the six men found in the vacant lot were using the extracts as sleeping potions or as fly-killers?

It would have been better for the prohibition officer had he maintained silence. By challenging Mr. Crockett he has called attention to the delinquencies of his own department. In our opinion it is not a valid excuse to say that the federal law permits the manufacture of a liquor when it is clear that the law bans an intoxicant "readily susceptible for use as a beverage." Instead of offering excuses he should see to it that the federal authorities revoke the licenses held by firms manufacturing intoxicating beverages. And as we understand it, the state administration will not furnish alcohol to a firm which does not possess such a license, however eager the state authorities may be to aid in making the prohibition law a farce.

So lucrative has been the manufacture and sale of the state-aided booze factory other manufacturers have started in the same business. We have not seen any of the readily susceptible articles they make, but one of the makers assures his patrons that his extract has a stronger "kick" than the 48 per cent extract of his rival. No doubt the city prosecuting attorney is anticipating still more trouble as a result of this growing industry, anticipating the harrowing pleas of many more mothers, wives and sisters begging for the release of victims of this state-backed traffic in human souls.—The Weekly Citizen, Salt Lake, Utah.

United States officials in South Dakota are now after the sugar profiteers of Mormondom. Eight directors of the Utah-Idaho company have been arrested on complaints filed in South Dakota and they may have to stand trial outside of the Mormon kingdom.

At the Chicago convention, when Apostle-senator Smoot took the place of Chairman Lodge as presiding officer, some one in the gallery yelled: "Take that Mormon elder out of there."

THE NATIONAL REFORM MOVEMENT

WINONA LAKE INSTITUTE

The sixteenth annual Christian citizenship institute at Winona Lake, Indiana, August 16-19 inclusive, was in every way a marked success—the most successful thus far held at this mid-west Chautauqua and Assembly. All sessions were in the auditorium. The attendance from start to finish was all that could well have been desired. While varying somewhat from session to session, according to the speaker and other simultaneous meetings on the Assembly grounds, there was a steady increase in the number present at the various sessions from day to day, approaching the thousands.

The interest was deep; as manifested by the rapt attention of the hearers, their purchase of some two hundred dollars' worth of literature, subscribing for hundreds of copies of the *Christian Statesman*, and contributing in cash and pledges about seventeen hundred dollars for the furtherance of the work of the National Reform Association.

The opening address at the nine o'clock hour the morning of August 15th was by the General Superintendent of the Association on the subject "Christian Americanization." This he defined as the familiarization of all, who are in any wise ignorant of them, with the Christian usages, customs, laws and institutions of the country—its Christian ideals and spirit. The nature and use of the oath in our courts of justice and in the induction of men into civil office, with its solemn appeal to God as one shall answer at the last great day; the employment and significance of chaplains in our navy and army, in our reformatory, penal, charitable and benevolent institutions, and in our State and national legisla-

tive halls; the laws upon our statute books against blasphemy, profanity, theft, murder, perjury, the desecration of the Lord's Day, licentiousness, etc., as having their basis in the ten commandments or, strictly speaking, the third to the ninth inclusive; the reading of the Bible in the great majority of the schools of the country; the significance of the Christian inscriptions on our coins and many of our public buildings; the recognition of the God of heaven in our State constitutions; the numerous decisions of various courts all over the land to the effect that Christianity—not Buddhism, Mohammedanism, or other false religion, but Christianity—is part of the common law of the land; the decision of the Supreme Court of the country in 1892, "This is a Christian nation"—the teaching of all this in the spirit of the Master to those who know it not, the speaker defined as an essential part of Christian Americanization.

And this he declared it is preeminently the duty of the state to do and not load the whole of it on the family and the church. Ours, in the broad sense of the term, is a Christocracy for which we do not propose to apologize any more than we do for its being a democracy. Hence it is not only the right but also the duty of the state to impart such instruction in order to preserve, develop and perpetuate its own life and character.

In later addresses the Superintendent discussed the American Sabbath, our lax marriage and divorce laws and the necessity of training the youth of the country in Christian morality in our system of public instruction to make them desirable citizens.

Commenting editorially on the Superintendent's address on lax marriage

and divorce the Indianapolis News of August 21st had to say:

In a speech made to the Christian Citizenship Institute at Winona Lake, Dr. James S. Martin, general superintendent of the National Reform Association, stated that in the United States "we have fifty-two different sets of divorce laws specifying twenty-five reasons for breaking up homes as against God's reason." Divorce is more common in the United States than anywhere in the world, and Dr. Martin believes the laxity of America's divorce laws is largely to blame. Practically every student of the American social structure is of the same opinion.

With the exception of South Carolina, where there are no divorce laws and where no divorce on any ground is granted, the scriptural reason for divorce is recognized throughout the country. Other causes for absolute divorce range from "conduct rendering life burdensome" and "neglect for one year" to serious irregularities of conduct involving moral delinquency and criminal tendencies. "Cruelty" is the reason for about 30 per cent. of the divorces granted in the United States, and "desertion" is the reason for 37 per cent. Only about 12 per cent. are granted for unfaithfulness, or the scriptural reason to which Dr. Martin refers.

The main source of trouble is the laxity of the law with respect to what constitutes cruelty. In almost all states it is possible for a married couple to decide to dissolve their marriage contract and, under the guidance of lawyers, to arrange to present such evidence as is needed to effect the legal separation. Few states undertake to interfere in a divorce action. Their policy is to permit the contracting parties to have their own way if the appearance of an adequate case is presented to the court. The laws encourage this attitude. Uniform divorce laws will probably help to reduce the number of indefensible causes, but the laws will still reflect the extent to which Christian teachings are popularly observed.

The General Field Secretary of the Association, Dr. James S. McGaw, had for his themes "The Highway to National Happiness," "Saving the Soul of America" and "Bringing Up Sammie." In discussing the second of these he said:

If America is to grow in national character and fulfill her mission in the world, the Christian democracy within the republic must battle for clean blood; the white slave traffic must be destroyed and a redlight abatement

act passed by every legislature; every citizen must help the federal government in cleaning up the blood poison in the veins of the nation; the home must be protected by uniform marriage and divorce laws; Mormon polygamy must be banished and the family altar established in every home; the Bible must be placed in the public schools; the American civil Sabbath and all the Christian laws and usages must be enforced. Then, in the name of God, America can lead the forward march of the nations toward perpetual peace.

Among his pertinent utterances in the discussion of the last of the above-named themes, are the following:

Every child, foreign or home born, living under the Stars and Stripes, is the ward of Uncle Sam. They are Sammies in the making. No democracy can exist unless the government assumes a parental relationship towards its youth. Fully recognizing this our republic has spent a billion and a half in erecting public schools, retains half a million instructors, has placed a compulsory school law in the statutes of every state, provided free books and equipment and frequently supplies clothing, shoes and stockings where needed. Eighteen million march to the public schools every day of the school year. No nation on the globe has taken more to heart the stupendous task of caring for the education of its children than has America.

The supreme purpose of it all is to make a citizen. It is that much in the program of national defense. Thoroughly to assimilate our increase in population is our only hope. Every one of them must be trained to step out on graduation a Sammie from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet—an American loyal to the Christian principles, institutions, usages, customs, traditions and idealism of the re-

public. They must be moral in heart and conscience. The law of God must be inculcated as the code of social relationship. Respect for civil law must be instilled by reverence for God. Conscience must have a standard higher than mere natural morality. Patriotism must be inspired by linking the love of God with the love of country. Sammie must be the embodiment of the genius of the nation, which has always been Christian. The movement now on in many states for the use of the Bible in the schools should have the hearty support of every true patriot.

Mrs. Lulu Loveland Shepard gave a series of four addresses on as many different aspects of present-day Mormonism. We refrain from commenting on these here as they are to be printed, for substance, in successive issues of this journal, the first appearing on other pages in this issue. Suffice it to say that the large and increasing audiences which greeted her each time she spoke bore eloquent testimony to her popularity as a speaker.

Other speakers were Drs. Sam W. Small and Clinton N. Howard and Miss Ida DeBruler. The first two are well known for their ability and popularity as speakers the country over. Dr. Small discussed "America, the Moses Nation of the Age," "Is Our Christian Civilization a Success?" and "Unsettled Problems of the Day;" and Dr. Howard "The Most Momentous Events of the Century," "The Triumph of Democracy" and "The Dawn of a New Day." We have asked each for full abstracts of these addresses for use in later issues of the Statesman.

Miss De Bruler gave a very interesting and informing talk on "American Art and Popular Amusement" in which she stated that all art had a

religious origin but that the early church withdrew its uplifting influence from the theatre because of its abuse of art; that Christians should discriminate between true and false art, encouraging the good and denouncing the bad; and that our nation should legally provide the opportunity for every man, woman and child to develop all the talent of which they are possessed.

She urged that a definite effort be undertaken by Christian folk to control the people's leisure time and dictate their amusements, and that to this end a community house was needed in every locality.

As an evidence of the acceptableness of the National Reform Association work to the directors of the Winona Assembly and Bible Conference, these directors accorded a full hour's hearing each day for ten successive days, on the regular Bible Conference program, to the Christian Citizenship Institute speakers. The substance of the addresses delivered by each will appear in *The Winona Echoes*, the annual volume issued by the directors and which is largely subscribed for by the general public. This of course will give extended publicity to these utterances much beyond that so generously given by the daily and weekly press, especially of the Institute addresses.

It ought to be said no doubt that the presence and daily utterances of "Billy" Sunday, especially in the interests of a revival of personal religion, added greatly to the interest taken in the work of our Association this year at Winona, specially to stress the crying need, in this crucial hour of the history of our own and other nations, of a revival of national religion. Christianity, personal and national, is the one and only cure for the world's ills.

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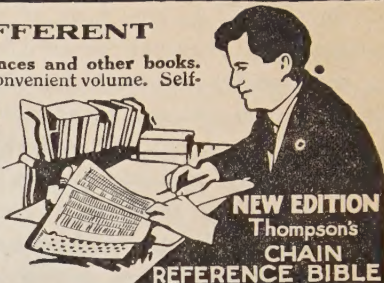
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HONORABLE MENTION

No more honorable space can be given on these pages than that devoted to the earnest and consecrated band who, profoundly believing in the message of "The Christian Statesman" and "The National Reform Association," have these summer days devoted time and energy and often their "pin money" to securing as many as twelve new subscribers each. We like to think of them as members of our "Staff" and call them and their kind "Our Field Representatives." May their tribe increase. We want our readers to know them. Here they are in the order of their rank, and reaching from Maine to California:

Mr. F. E. Blose, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Mrs. E. P. Clark, Detroit, Mich.
Mr. W. Clifford Haines, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Elizabeth McClure, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Miss Margaret E. Dickey, Oil City, Pa.
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Miss Alice B. Farnham, Woodfords, Me.
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Mr. B. A. Phinege, De Graff, O.

Is there any reason why your name isn't down here, gentle reader? Is your town honorably mentioned? There is yet time, but none to spare. We want to post the completed list in our office. Take this issue after reading it and make a careful canvass and if you can't persuade your friends, why not take some of that tithing money? Its purchasing value will double Oct. 1. Invest it for the King! Do.

When Oct. 1 comes there will be rejoicing among those who have come bringing in their sheaves of new subscribers. Will you be empty-handed?

Mr. John McCarroll, Birmingham, Mich.
Mrs. R. J. Boyd, Kansas City, Mo.
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A. R. Mackey, Pittsburgh, Pa.
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Our Next Issue—Leading Features

Article—THE DIVORCE CRIME, Francis Miner Moody, Executive Secretary of the International Committee on Marriage and Divorce. An authentic array of facts reinforced by a map and four illuminating tables.

Article—WHY I COULD NEVER BE A MORMON, John D. Nutting, Secretary Utah Gospel Mission.

With our November issue The Christian Statesman will take

A FORWARD STEP

Several months ago we announced that Oct. 1 the subscription rate would be advanced from \$1.00 to \$2.00. We hardly need to explain to our readers that this is not for selfish reasons. We now announce that ALL EXPIRATIONS AFTER SEPT. 30 are renewable at \$2.00 and that the regular rate for new readers will also be \$2.00.

After reading this there is still time for all who are not regular subscribers to become such, and for those who have delayed sending in a club of subscribers to do so at the old rate. But "you'll have to hurry." We just take enough interest in those who are to be our friends in the struggle for righteousness ahead of us to want as many as will to embrace this last opportunity. We know they will subscribe "some time." But why not NOW? The comments on the following page ought to help decide what is best to do.

Of course the increase in publication means a development in amount and, if it be possible, the quality of our magazine. This we believe will be evident in the November issue. We are convinced that when our readers have studied the article on "The Divorce Crime," they will say, "One article like that each month, will alone be a thinking cap well worth the \$2.00." But there will be a wider range of information than we have been able to have heretofore. We confidently believe that THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN will from now on be looked upon in home, office and workshop as the clearing house of data and opinion vital to the Christianizing of thought and life of our nation. But in the last analysis, The Christian Statesman will be what its readers through their loyal support make it.

What Others Think of

THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN

A Leading Religious Editor

"I always read The Christian Statesman with great care. I am quite sure that there is nothing else in the country quite so well calculated to furnish Christian voters data on moral issues that the Christian conscience of the country must face in public affairs. I have always found The Christian Statesman's information clear and accurate."

Nolan R. Best, Editor, The Continent.

An Anti-Saloon Leader

"It gives me great pleasure to state that there is no paper that comes to my office read with more interest and profit than The Christian Statesman. I hope it will have publicity. The article by the late George W. Perkins on 'The Man of the Future' is a timely message."

Homer W. Tope, State Superintendent,
Pennsylvania Anti-Saloon League.

A Church Federation Secretary

"The National Reform Association, through THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN and by means of other literature, deals more fundamentally with the great national problems and their SOLUTION than any other organization in the nation today."

C. McLeod Smith, Executive Secretary,
Buffalo Federation.

Y. M. C. A. Secretary

"I am interested to know (as a new subscriber) that a magazine of such a nature has found its way into the channels of our public life, for there is a great need for such truth."

G. E. Mudge, Secretary,
Y. M. C. A., Canton, O.

A Woman Leader

"I want to express my appreciation of The Christian Statesman. I have been impressed by the fair, unbiased view taken always, free from bigotry and prejudice and so decidedly Christian. When I see the dangers, so apparent, that threaten our land, and professed Christians so indifferent and blind to the evils that threaten, I am glad that there is the National Reform Association."

Miss Anna L. Scott, Waverly, Mass.

"Worth Many Times Its Price"

"I regard The Christian Statesman as worth many times its price to any one who wants to keep well informed in regard to the moral aspects of all questions pertaining to the State and the world in general."

W. D. Beggs, Cleveland, Ohio.

NO TIME TO SPARE—OCT. 1 IS NEAR

There is still time for you to subscribe for yourself or others at the old \$1 rate. You can take it later, but at the \$2.00 rate.